The Elder Pliny's African Geography

Author(s): Brent D. Shaw

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THE ELDER PLINY'S AFRICAN GEOGRAPHY*

d. d. m. Leo Teutsch

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I. History of Research

Two decades have passed since the publication of Leo Teutsch's classic study of the towns and cities of North Africa under the Roman Republic.[1] His systematic and probing re-examination of orthodox interpretations of the status and history of African municipalities in their infancy, based on a critical rereading of the sources, marks a watershed in our understanding of Republican Africa. By carefully separating the facts from a tangle of modern hypotheses, Teutsch demolished ideas that had become hallowed by long acceptance.[2] No mere iconoclast, however, he established a basis for renewed

* I would like to thank C. R. Whittaker (Churchill College, Cambridge) for reading an earlier draft of this article and for making several valuable comments.

[1] L. Teutsch, *Das römische Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus*, Berlin W. de Gruyter, 1962 (hencefort *Städtewesen*), published posthumously.

[2] Cf. his paper, "Gab es Doppelgemeinden im römischen Afrika?" *RIDA* 8 (1961) 281–356 which demolished the idea of the so-called 'double-communities', a concept which up to that time

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inquiry into the early history of African municipal development and refocussed attention on the main problem confronting any new interpretation, namely, the question of the sources themselves. In particular he drew attention to the uncertainty surrounding our principal source, the Elder Pliny's geography of Africa (*Historia naturalis*, V. 1–30). He proffered a solution that clarified the main difficulties, but no consensus emerged in his favour. His death in an air crash in Turkey in 1962 not only robbed Roman history of an exacting and original scholar, but also cut short any possible *risposte* Teutsch could have made to his critics.

If it is true that *Quellenforschung* is unable to provide final answers to most of our historical problems, nevertheless, in the case of Pliny's geography a solution is critical to an understanding of the policies of the Roman state in North Africa in the late Republic. This is so because Pliny's information is almost the sole basis upon which are founded all modern analyses of the statuses of the various urban and ethnic communities that made up Rome's African *provincia*. Though doubts have been expressed concerning Teutsch's views, I believe that thorough re-examination of Pliny's text confirms his contention of an earlier date for Pliny's sources (that is, Caesarean rather than Augustan) and, on the whole, substantiates his other conclusions drawn from the premise of an earlier date. Nor is the question of the source material in Pliny and the formal community statuses of African towns an arid fine point of 'constitutional' government. Answers to this question reveal some rather significant trends in official Roman attitudes to the treatment of indigenous towns and peoples, attitudes shaped in the process of the extension of Roman political hegemony over provincial regions. The tempo and depth of political domination as well as the related administrative procedures, including the elements of tribute and taxation, are revealed in greater detail.

Apart from scanty epigraphical data, there are few valuable sources on the official statuses accorded towns in Africa generally – an observation that is particularly true of Africa in the late Republic. In fact, our sole literary source of any merit on African municipalities in the age of Caesar and Augustus is the information provided by the Elder Pliny in the fifth book of his Natural History. The core of Pliny's data is confined to a brief two-chapter survey that he appended to the main body of his African geography (*NH*, V, 29–30). This 'appendix' (as we shall refer to it henceforth) is obviously a copy of an 'official' list, reduced, as it is, to a simple catalogue of towns and their various statuses. Despite its great importance, or perhaps because of it, the 'official' document copied by Pliny has created more problems of exegesis than it has provided answers to conundrums it ought to have solved. The basic problem that has

had been a commonly accepted part of analysis of North African municipalities; see, for example, T. R. S. Broughton, *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, 48–49 (henceforth, *Romanization*).

barred confident use of the information in it is the question of the source Pliny used in compiling the appendix.[3] Until the problem of the date and nature of the source has been plainly resolved, the data contained in the lists cannot be used accurately, and many aspects of the early history of African municipal development will remain clouded in uncertainty.

In spite of more than a century of detailed research on the sources of Pliny's geography, and on this problem in particular, no decisive answer has yet emerged that commands general acceptance. The principal cause of the confusion is not inherent in the Plinian account. It is due to a simple lack of consistent critical inquiry and to the resigned acceptance of received ideas too cherished to be relinquished easily. Most of the initial answers to our inquiry, then, lie in a review of the historiography of the question itself. It is an object lesson in how yesterday's hypotheses became today's facts. In the formative article published on the question in 1877, Detlev Detlefsen suggested that the source of the crucial chapters in Book Five of the *Historia naturalis* relating to the status of African cities was a *formula provinciarum* which, he contended, had been composed, or at least included, as part of the 'World Map' of Agrippa. Therefore the *formula*, and also the relevant part of the fifth book of Pliny's geography, could be dated to the latter part of the reign of Augustus.[4] Otto Cuntz, in a dissertation published a decade later (1888), revised this assessment slightly by advancing arguments to demonstrate that the *formula* had been composed after 25 B.C. but before 12 B.C., the year of Agrippa's death. Cuntz also contended that the provincial survey was derived from an

[3] A few passages from one of the more recent synoptic works to appear on the African municipalities are sufficient to demonstrate the point; the author seems to despair of a solution.

> Tant que ce problème des sources de Pline au livre V de *l'Histoire Naturelle* ne sera pas résolu, toutes les théories imprudemment échafaudées sur l'interprétation des données pliniennes risquent de s'effondrer.

and . . .

> . . . nous estimons le problème des sources de Pline au Ve livre de son *Histoire Naturelle* non résolu sinon insolvable . . . Y a-t-il une source unique, ou des sources d'époque différente . . . comme a tenté de le montrer L. Teutsch? On ne peut de toute façon l'utiliser sans d'infinies précautions.

J. Gascou, *La politique municipale romaine en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère*, Rome, B. E. F. A. R., 1972, 18 and 20, no. 1 (hereafter, *Politique municipale*). Poinssot reports that Quoniam provided him with persuasive, but as yet unpublished, arguments that the lists must be dated to just after Caesar's death and that they may even have been included in the dictator's papers; see C. Poinssot, "*Immunitas Perticae Carthaginiensium*", *CRAI* (1962) 55–76, at p. 67.

[4] D. Detlefsen, "Varro, Agrippa und Augustus als Quellenschriftsteller des Plinius", (in) *Commentationes philologas in honorem Theodori Mommseni scripserunt amici*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1877, 23ff. The first scholar to connect the administrative survey in Pliny's geography with Agrippa's map was F. Ritschl, "Die Vermessung des römischen Reiches unter Augustus, die Weltkarte des Agrippa und die Cosmographie des sogenannten Aethicius (Iulius Honorius)", *RhM* I (1842) 481–523.

official document included in the commentary accompanying the Map of Agrippa, but conceded that the list also contained some additions drawn from emendations made between 12 B.C. and 7 B.C., when Augustus finally published the map.[5] In a thesis on the cities of Roman Africa published in 1904, Wilhelm Barthel accepted that the source was an administrative list (*ein Verwaltungsbericht*) of Augustan date. Along with Kornemann, however, he noted some difficulties in accepting this solution, namely, the apparent incompleteness of the appendix recorded in Pliny. By the time Barthel was writing, the epigraphical evidence collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* had appeared (evidence not easily accessible to earlier researchers) and it had become clear that certain colonies in Africa bearing the epithet 'Iulia' were missing from Pliny's African survey. Barthel sought to explain the discrepancy by claiming that the lists included only those towns that had been affected by some administrative change made personally by Augustus.[6] Why this should be so Barthel did not explain, but it is interesting to note that already at this early date the prevailing tendency among scholars was to retain the original hypothesis made by Detlefsen even if it was untenable, and to

[5] O. Cuntz, *De Augusto Plinii geographicorum auctore*, Diss., Bonn, 1888, 40–45; Cuntz later repeated much the same arguments in, "Agrippa und Augustus als Quellenschriftsteller des Plinius in den geographischen Büchern der *Naturalis Historia*", *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik: Jahrbuch für klassische Philologie* 17 (1890) 475–527. Cuntz's theory, which is at the root of all modern opinions on the subject, was simply founded on false premises and lack of good evidence. He had very inaccurate ideas about town status, and no epigraphic data beyond Vol. I of the *Corpus*. He dated the source after 36 B.C. (because of the status of Utica) and after 25 B.C. (because Numidia is apparently part of Africa), but before the reign of Tiberius because of the status of Hippo Regius. He held (p. 48) that the document dated to 8 B.C. when Augustus was censor, that it was a list prepared for census purposes, and that it was part of the *breviarium imperii* left by Augustus for Tiberius in A. D. 14. See J. J. Tierney, "The Map of Agrippa", *PRIA* 63, Sect. C, 4 (1963) 151–66 for one of the clearest explanations of the date, mode of composition, and purpose of the map. It was to be placed on the wall of the Porticus Vipsaniae which was still unfinished in 7 B.C. (Dio 55.8.4), but probably completed soon after this date. Detlefsen, in his *Ursprung, Einrichtung und Bedeutung der Erdkarte Agrippas* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906; Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Hrsg. von W. Sieglin, Heft 13), held that there never existed a set of *commentarii* separate from the map itself, but rather that all information derived 'from Agrippa' actually came directly from the map. In his *Untersuchungen zu den geographischen Büchern des Plinius, I: Weltkarte des M. Agrippa*, Glückstadt, 1884 (Abhandlung zum Jahresbericht des Glückstadter Gymnasiums, 1884, Progr. nr. 254) he also showed that two later works, a *Demensuratio provinciarum* and the *Divisio orbis terrae* were both derived from a common source that described the map itself.

[6] W. Barthel, *Zur Geschichte der römischen Städte in Africa*, Diss., Greifswald, Druck von J. Abel, 1904, 27-37, esp. 33f. Barthel based his conclusion, in part, on Pliny's treatment of the towns and cities in *Italy* (*NH*, III, 6.46) though there is no reason to suppose that the Italian evidence was drawn from the same document as the African. He sought to explain the resulting conflicts in his theory by resorting to the concept of the 'double community' (pp. 20, 32) – accepted by Broughton, *Romanization*, 53.

attempt to revise or re-order the theory to accommodate new evidence that seemed to contradict its basic propositions.

Detlefsen himself returned to the problem in 1908 with a thorough investigation of all the work that had been done up to that time. He reaffirmed his belief that Pliny's source was a *formula provinciarum* included as part of Agrippa's Map. His analysis of similar provincial administrative surveys contained in the Natural History (which he believed to be derived from the same common source) led him to claim that the contents of the hypothetical *formula* reflected a situation towards the end of Augustus' reign. He therefore thought that the *formula* must date to some time *after* the completion of the Map of Agrippa by Augustus, that is, after 7 B.C., but sometime before Augustus' death in A. D. 14.[7] Until Teutsch tackled the problematic document in 1962, this final assessment by Detlefsen remained orthodoxy on the subject. Subsequent research on the African municipalities tended to accept that further investigation would not produce any new insight into the sources of the Plinian *Verwaltungsbericht*. The idea became fixed that Pliny's source for chapters twenty-nine and thirty of Book Five was an official list of provincial communities prepared in the latter part of Augustus' reign. Despite minor modifications depending on the individual scholar's viewpoint, this basic conclusion was repeated from work to work and gradually became entrenched as dogma. The obvious difficulties in interpreting the lists that kept recurring as a result of accepting a late Augustan date seemed neither to deter its continued use nor to raise doubts about the validity and basis of the original hypothesis.[8]

[7] His survey was contained in two articles: D. Detlefsen, *Die Geographie Afrikas bei Plinius und Mela und ihre Quellen*, and *Die formula provinciarum: eine Hauptquelle des Plinius*, pp. 1–62 and 63–104 respectively of Heft XIV in *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* (hrsg. von W. Sieglin), Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1908; see esp. p. 30f. and 88f.

[8] To list but some of those who accepted and repeated the findings of earlier research: E. Kornemann, "Die caesarische Kolonie Karthago und die Einführung römischer Gemeindeordnung in Africa", *Philologus* 60 (1901) 402–26 accepted Cuntz's dating, "Das Resultat der Thätigkeit beider liegt vor in der von Plinius ausgeschriebenen Reichsstatistik, die nach dem vortrefflichen Untersuchungen von Cuntz für Africa von Agrippa und zwar zwischen 729/25 und 742/12 hergestellt worden ist"; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (hereafter *HAAN*), 8, Paris, Hachette, 1928, 159, 164, 168, 171, 198 and 201, and vol. 7 (1928) 40, no. 5 accepts Detlefsen's conclusions and frequently refers to, ". . . un document administratif du règne d'Auguste, copié par Pline l'Ancien"; Broughton, *Romanization*, 49, no. 9 also accepts Detlefsen's conclusions when he states that Pliny's information derives from a *periplous* with insertions and "a *formula Provinciae Africae* giving in some form the legal status of various African towns. Both sources are of Augustan date, and appear, unlike the account of Mauretania, to have been uncorrected by later information"; see p. 52f. where he finds refuge in "Pliny's known inexactitude elsewhere." L. Poinssot, "Macomades-Iunci", *MSAF* 81 (1944) 133–69, p. 130f. states that it came from a *formula provinciae* dating between 27–20 B.C., R. Chevallier, *MEFR* 69 (1958) 91 states, "Pline, qui utilise une statistique officielle de l'époque d'Auguste . . ."; and P.

But the hard question must be posed. What was the factual basis of the hypothesis first advanced by Detlefsen and Cuntz? The basic assumption made by these early analysts is that the source of the 'appendix' must be one of those mentioned by Pliny himself in the introduction to the *Historia naturalis*, and that of all the authors mentioned by him Agrippa and Varro were the most likely choices.[9] Agrippa seemed the logical alternative as the source of the 'appendix'; his map provided the ideal context for the sort of information contained in the survey. It is true, of course, that Varro and Agrippa were most probably the authorities that were personally consulted by Pliny in the composition of his work, and that Varro is excluded as the likely source of the 'appendix' because of his early date. But it is hardly necessary that the material contained in either of these authors had a *terminus post quem* with the publication of their respective works, or that the information in Agrippa was an accurate reflection of the contemporary situation in Africa between 7 B.C. and A.D. 14. Hence the fundamental supposition made by Detlefsen and Cuntz was very weak and, further, was never put to the test by subsequent researchers.

The young German historian Leo Teutsch, after a careful analysis of the Plinian lists on Africa, came to the conclusion that the source was of an earlier date than had hitherto been supposed. He based his case primarily on one of the *oppida libera* mentioned in chapter thirty of the survey, a town called *Vagense aliud* in the list in order to distinguish it from another centre of the same name in the Bagradas river valley.[10] According to Teutsch this town should be identified with the Vaga that was destroyed by the forces of the African king Juba I in 46 B.C.[11] Since it appears in the list of *oppida libera*, he argued that the entire list of free cities (and therefore probably that of the *oppida civium Romanorum* as well) probably dated to some time *before* the

Romanelli, "Note storico-geografiche relative all'Africa al tempo di Augusto, II: La statistica Pliniana delle città Africane e la sua interpretazione", *RAL*, ser. 8 (1950) 481–89, who accepts Barthel's conclusions- a position that he repeats in his *Storia delle Province Romane dell'Africa*, Rome, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1959 (henceforth, *Storia*) esp. 189, no. 1, ". . . un documento pure dell'età di Augusto ma piu tardo della carta di Agrippa . . ." (*i. e.*, Detlefsen's argument), and p. 208, ". . . noi abbiamo la trascrizione di un documento amministrativo dell tempo di Augusto, nel quale dovevano essere annotati i provvedimenti presi dall' imperatore nei riguardi dello stato delle città della provincia sotto l'aspetto amministrativo". (*i. e.*, Barthel). More recently, see P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B. C. – A. D. 14*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971, append. no. 13, "Pliny on Africa", 581–83.

[9] See pp. 17–18 of the Teubner edition, *C. Plinius Secundus, Naturalis Historia*, vol. 1, ed. L. Ian and C. Mayhoff, Leipzig, Teubner, 1967– the text I have used throughout.

[10] Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 34–37; see the riposte by Gascou, *Politique municipale*, 17, no. 5. See no. 13 in the list of *oppida civium Romanorum* and no. 16 in the list of the *oppida libera* in Appendix A.

[11] On its destruction by Caesar see *Bell. Afr.*. 74; Strabo 17.3.12; Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 35–42 locates the site of the latter Vaga just to the southeast of modern Jammal.

destruction of Vaga in late 46 B.C.[12] He further maintained that the compiler of the lists was neither Agrippa nor any other Augustan source, but an ". . .unbekannter, der über die schon vor Caesar's Krieg in Afrika bestehenden Städte des römischen Afrika schrieb."[13] The redating of the Plinian lists enabled Teutsch to make better sense of the numerous vexatious problems that had been created artificially by an Augustan dating, notably the 'problem' of the *oppida civium Romanorum*. Nevertheless, Teutsch's early dating of the lists and, following on that, his solutions of related problems came under heavy criticism. The only substantial objection to his thesis seems to be the lack of uncontrovertable evidence that would clinch the identification of the *Vagense aliud* mentioned by Pliny with the site destroyed by Juba I in 46.[14] In spite of the transparent feebleness of the whole counter-attack (based on this one case alone, rather than Teutsch's whole argument) the forces of reaction seem to have won the day in defence of a nineteenth century interpretation of the Augustan date and a rejection of Teutsch's theory.

I believe that a closer re-examination of the *whole* of Book Five of the *Historia naturalis* and a careful structural breakdown of the text, along with a consideration of the known history of the era, will show that Teutsch is right. The investigation will reveal that the example of *Vagense aliud* is not the only discrepancy in the orthodox interpretation, but that the rot runs much deeper – in fact, through the whole nineteenth century edifice of exegesis. This is the sort of detailed investigation that Teutsch never had the opportunity to perform in his own defence and, in broad terms, it justifies his earlier date and most of his conclusions.

[12] Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 37, "Hiernach läßt sich das Alter der von Plinius bei der Abfassung seiner Liste der *oppida libera* benutzten Quelle, – wahrscheinlich sogar einer älteren Quelle, die der des Plinius zugrunde lag, bestimmen. Der *terminus ante quem* für die Entstehung dieser Urquelle dürfte demnach das Jahr 46 v. Chr. sein."

[13] Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 93; cf. L. Foucher, *CT* 8 (1960) 11–17.

[14] See H. H. Abdul-Wahab, "Le 'Vaga' du *Bellum Africanum*", *CT* 8 (1960) 19–23 on the profusion of 'Vagas' in Tunisia. This type of criticism was first voiced by F. Vittinghoff, "Zur vorcaesarischen Siedlungs- und Städtepolitik in Nordafrika: Bemerkungen zu den 'Städtelisten' des Plinius (n. h. V)", (in) *Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda Dedicata* (Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich, Bd. V), Graz-Köln, Böhlau (1966) 225–33, esp. p. 230–32; L. Foucher, "La localisation de la ville de *Vaga* mentionée dans le *Bellum Africum*", (in) *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à A. Piganiol*, ed. R. Chevallier, Paris, S. E. V. P. E. N. (1966) vol 2, 1205–10 has the same argument, but he also admits that the town might have been reconstructed after the war. The latter argument, though not necessary, is plausible and is emphasized by Gascou, *Politique municipale*, 17, no. 5.

II. The Text and its Composition

Before turning to a consideration of the date and source of the Plinian 'appendix', it seems best for the sake of context to review briefly the salient passages from Book Five relating to town status in Africa (see Append. A). To facilitate the interpretation of the two crucial chapters, we must consider the sources of information and methods of composition used by Pliny in the first twenty-eight chapters of Book Five. In short, the geography of Africa as written by Pliny falls into the same tradition as the writing of much 'history' in antiquity, as well as its main components, geography and ethnography. With very disparate and fragmented sources at their disposal most ancient historians had to make a selection of 'topics' and to construct an artificial whole out of them. The *logos*-style construction of ancient historians and its highly structured matrix have not yet been investigated in the detail they merit, but Pliny's geography of Africa is, to put it unkindly, a classic example of the cruder 'scissors-and-paste' method typical of the less skilled and subtle schools of history. Or, as Sallman has expressed it in more favourable terms, Pliny's

Chart 1: *Detlefsen's Identification of the Sources for Pliny's Georgraphy of Africa* (Book V, of the *Historia Naturalis*)*

Chapter	*Source*
1	Varro
2–4	A *periplous* with additions from a *formula provinciarum* and earlier sources
4	Cornelius Nepos
5	A *periplous* with additions from a *formula provinciarum*
6–7	*Celebrati auctores* mentioned by Pliny in the introduction
8	Hanno
9–10	Polybios with additions from Agrippa
11–13	Contemporary information culled by Pliny
14–15	Suetonius Paulinus
16	Juba
17–21	*Periplous* with additions from a *formula provinciarum*
21	Agrippa
22–28	Varro and a *periplous* with additions from Polybios
26	Agrippa and an account left by Cornelius Balbus
28	Callimachus
29–30	A *formula provinciae Africae*

* Detlefsen (1908) 59–60, cf. no. 7.

geography exhibits a *Mosaikstil* type of composition. Pliny, in short, resorted to excerpting whole passages *en bloc* from several sources. He then rewrote and knit them together into a rather loosely joined whole.[15] The result is a haphazard collection of facts that can only be useful to the modern historian if he is able to isolate the 'bloc' in which each statement or discrete fact is embedded, and to identify the source behind each separate statement.

By correlating the sources mentioned by Pliny in the course of his narrative with the sources listed in the introduction to Book Five, Detlefsen was able to identify most of the authorities used by Pliny in the writing of his geography of Africa. His conclusions are summarized in Chart I. Not all these sources need concern us here, since a check of the distribution of the cities in the outline of Pliny's geography shows that his information on the statuses of African towns is concentrated in certain sections (*i. e.*, chapters 2, 5, 19–21, 22–25 and 27). Detlefsen specifies a *periplous* as the main source for these chapters. The sole exception seems to be the province of Mauretania Tingitana (the extreme northwestern sector of modern day Morocco) in which case Pliny appears to have had a near contemporary source on inland urban centres, perhaps a *formula provinciae*.[16] But the *periplous* must be of a rather earlier date (*i. e.*, pre-Claudian) since his knowledge of hinterland towns of mid-first century Mauretania is already defective. Pliny is able to give the correct status for Claudian foundations along the coast, but is ignorant of contemporary statuses for inland centres. For example, he does not know of the existence of a *municipium* at Volubilis, but merely lists the city as an *oppidum*.[17]

Pliny's dependence on the *periplous* for town and city status explains why he is well informed on all Vespasian's municipal grants and settlements in the

[15] On Pliny's methods see K. G. Sallman, *Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro: Versuch einer Quellenanalyse* (in) *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte*, hrsg. von H. Dörrie & P. Moraux, Bd. 11, Berlin (1971) 27–34; Mommsen rightly saw this a century earlier when he called Pliny a 'liederlichen Compilator' (*Römische Staatsrecht*[3], III, 1, 684).

[16] For Babba and Banasa see Pliny, *NH*, 5.5: "Ab Lixo $\overline{XL}$ in mediterraneo altera Augusti colonia est Babba, Iulia Campestris appellata, et tertia Banasa $\overline{LXXV}$ p., Valentia cognominata." This *formula* must be rather early in date since the colony of Zulil (*NH*, 5.2: "Ab eo $\overline{XXV}$ in ora oceani colonia Augusti Iulia Constantia Zulil, regum dicioni exempta et iura in Baeticam petere iussa.") is spoken of as exempt from the jurisdiction of the African king, which must be a situation obtaining only before the end of the reign of Ptolemy in A. D. 40 (cf. Gsell, *H'AAN* 8 (1929) 201f.).

[17] Cf. Pliny, *NH*, 5.2: "Oppida fuere Lissa et Cottae ultra columnas Herculis, nunc est Tingi, quondam ab Antaeo conditum, postea a Claudio Caesare, cum coloniam faceret, appellatum Traducta Iulia ... Ab ea $\overline{XXXV}$ colonia a Claudio Caesare facta Lixos ..."; *NH*, 5.20: "Promunturium Apollinis oppidumque ibi celeberrimum Caesarea, ante vocitatum Iol, Iubae regia a Divo Claudio coloniae iure donata; eiusdem iussu deductis veteranis Oppidum Novum et Latio dato Tipasa ... Rusucurium civitate honoratum a Claudio ..."; on Volubilis (*NH*, 5.5) we read, "Ab ea $\overline{XXXV}$ Volubilis oppidum ...", whereas by the time of Claudius it had become a *municipium* (see *ILMar.* 116).

coastal centres of the Mauretanias but is ignorant of any of his municipal grants to towns in the interior of Numidia.[18] There is another observable deduction that can be made from Pliny's state of knowledge: the *periplous* only covered the coastal towns of the Mauretanias and not any centres to the east of these provinces. Pliny has nothing of note to say about the coastal cities of Numidia (*i. e.*, the Cirtan Federation or western Proconsularis).[19] His actual knowledge of coastal city statuses to the east of the frontier of Mauretania (the Wed al-Kabir) clearly shows that he no longer has the *periplous* at his disposal and must now rely on whatever information he can glean from the official lists (our 'appendix') that he appended to the end of his geography. He must plunder the lists to flesh out his account of the regions of western Proconsularis.[20]

We may sum up the argument thus far. Insofar as city status is concerned, the main text of Pliny's African geography (*NH*, V, 1–28) depended on the

[18] Pliny does know of Icosium, ". . . itemque a Vespasiano imperatore eodem munere donatum Icosium" (*NH*, 5.20) but does not even mention the Flavian colonies at Ammaedara (mod. Haîdra, *C.* 308, cf. 302) or Madauros (mod. M'daûrûsh, *ILAlg.* I, 2152). Flavian *municipia* may be found at Bulla Regia (mod. Hammâm Darrajii, *ILAfr.* 458; *AE* 1964: 177; cf. P. Quoniam, *Karthago* 11 (1961–62) 3f.), Mascula (mod. Khenshela, *C.* 17222, 22302, very questionable), Sufetula (mod. Sbeîtla, *ILAfr.* 136; *C.* 23222–25), and Cillium (mod. Kassrîn, based on the large number of Flavii amongst the citizenry: *C.* 23207; L. Poinssot, *BCTH* (1934) xiii f.; Romanelli, *Storia*, 294; Broughton, *Romanization*, 101f.). On all these see T. Kotula, "A propos d'une inscription reconstituée de *Bulla Regia* (Hammam-Darradji). Quelques municipes 'mystérieux' de l'Afrique proconsulaire", *MEFR* 79.1 (1967) 207–20. He doubts the case of Cillium since like nearby Thelepte most of its citizens are enrolled in *tribu Papiria*; hence he prefers Trajan as the benefactor. All these municipalities have been 'mystérieux' to modern scholars simply because Pliny does not mention them (as he does Icosium on the coast) and we depend on epigraphic data alone to reconstruct their civic history.

[19] That is to say, Chullu, Rusicade, Hippo Regius and Thabraca are all merely noted as *oppida* (Pliny, *NH*, 5.22) without further comment about their status. Exactly the opposite is true of the Mauretanias where virtually every town status is specified. Out of the twenty-two coastal sites mentioned in the Mauretanias, only three are left uncommented (Sala, *NH*, 5.5; Russadir, 5.9, 19, and Siga, 5.19), but this is not surprising since all of them were still peregrine *civitates* at the time Pliny was writing.

[20] A survey of the major coastal sites to the east of the River Amsaga in his own time would have included the following:

1. Chullu – an Augustan colony (*C.* 6710–11; 6958, 7094–98; 7123, 7125, 8210).
2. Rusicade – an Augustan colony (C. 6710–11, 7124, 7969).
3. Hippo Regius – probably an Augustan *municipium*, and a later Flavian colony (*AE* 1958: 141–42; 276; 1960: 104; cf. *ILAlg.* I, 109; all of very difficult interpretation, see Gascou, *Politique municipale*, 35 and Kotula (1967) 217, with Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 163–64 and Vittinghoff (1966) 115).
4. Thabraca – an Augustan colony (*ILAlg.* I, 109 = *ILS* 597a; cf. *AE* 1959: 77; Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 162–63; Guey & Pernette, *Karthago* 9 (1958) 79–88 and nos.; Gascou, *Politique municipale*, 23–24).
5. Hippo Diarrhytus – either a Caesarean colony (Gsell, *HAAN* 8 (1929) 179–80) or Augustan (Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 93, 112–14, 160–62; and Gascou, *Politique municipale*, 21, 24; both based on *C.* 24317, cf. 1206, 14333).

following sources. First, for the Mauretanias he used a *periplous* as his basic source, but he was able to update it occasionally with more current information. Even in this case, however, he was at the mercy of his sources: some cities are assigned a correct contemporary status, while others are wildly anachronistic. Secondly, for regions *east* of the Mauretanias Pliny apparently had *no source other than the administrative survey appended to the end of his geography of Africa.* Again, he was at the mercy of this latter source alone, and he excerpted from it freely to fill out his account of the geography of Proconsularis but made no attempt to update the information. The latter point is most important to note. There is not the slightest whit of evidence to show that Pliny was ever concerned with presenting a coherent contemporary analysis in his geography. He did not compare one source with another in order to correct conflicting reports, nor did he update all his information. He merely collated everything he had at his disposal pell-mell; it is our task to disentangle the strands of his sources. Lastly, for all regions east of the Amsaga River (the western border of the Cirtan federation, called the Ampsaga by Pliny) it is clear that the administrative 'appendix' was his *only source* for city statuses, and hence the importance of determining its date and purpose. But equally, since he has drawn upon the 'appendix' to compose the main body of his geography, we have the opportunity to reconstruct the lists as they originally appeared, a task which, of all modern historians, only Teutsch attempted.

We may now turn to the administrative document itself, as contained in chapters twenty-nine and thirty of Book Five. After having completed his account of the geography of Africa (*NH*, V, 1–28) Pliny appended to it an official survey containing references to various town statuses (principally *coloniae, oppida libera*, and *oppida civium Romanorum*) and related information pertaining to various land-tax administrative units important to the Roman government, including *nationes* or 'tribes'. Unlike his geography of Africa as a whole, however, the survey only covers the area between the River Amsaga (present day Wed al-Kabir) and the so-called *Arae Philaenorum* (*NH*, V, 29 – 30). These two points were respectively the eastern and western termini of the greater Roman province in Africa, including the Cirtan Federation.[21] The reason why Pliny chose to insert the administrative document at this point in his narrative, before continuing the geography of Africa further to the east

Pliny knows of the status of none of these cities. He does not even refer to Hippo Regius and Hippo Diarrhytus, and merely calls Chullu and Rusicade *oppida*, and Thabraca an *oppidum civium Romanorum*.

[21] The survey covered the regions between the Amsaga and the Arae Philaenorum, as Pliny himself states (*NH*, 5.29), but as Gsell notes (*HAAN* 8 (1929) 164, no. 2), the coastal measurement of the old province of Africa (580 miles = 858 km) would only cover the range between the Amsaga and the Gulf of Gabès.

(*i. e.*, to include Cyrenaica) is obvious. The document was already available to him intact and rather than break it down and use its information piecemeal (which he could not do in any event because of his ignorance concerning most of its contents) he decided to include the bulk of the document *en bloc* as an appendix to the main body of his narrative. Of course, Pliny did have the entire document before himself during the 'composition' of his geography and even a cursory glance reveals that he drew on it occasionally to supplement his narrative, especially for information pertaining to the few important urban centres in Africa known to him from other sources. When he appended the document, therefore, Pliny did at least take the trouble *to delete from it the few towns and cities he had already mentioned in his main narrative.* Thus, whereas the text of the 'appendix' states that there are fifteen *oppida civium Romanorum*, only thirteen are actually named since Pliny has deleted Thabraca and Utica which he had excerpted and placed in the main account (at chaps. 22 and 23). The same observation is also true of the thirty declared *oppida libera* in the 'appendix'. Pliny names eighteen; the other twelve are easily retrieved from the main text once Pliny's method of composition has been recognized. Keeping these observations in mind, and remembering that the original document included only towns between the Amsaga River and the 'Altars of the Philaeni', it is possible to reconstruct the lists as they originally stood (see Append. A).

Even a superficial examination of the names of the towns that Pliny excerpted from the lists will show that they are cities that were commonly known at the time, whereas those he left untouched are usually obscure centres, in all likelihood unknown to Pliny as many of them are still unknown to us. Rather than discard this unused information Pliny decided to retain what remained of the lists as an 'appendix' to his main account, a procedure that explains both the apparent incompleteness of the lists as they now stand and the rationale behind their inclusion. The implications of this preliminary analysis of Pliny's composition of the geography and the 'appendix' for the reliability of his writings as a coherent whole are fairly harsh. The author was only as accurate as each fragment of source material he inserted into the composition. Although knowledge commonly available to him at the time he was writing flatly contradicted much of what he put into the geography, there is no indication that this caused him to hesitate to include anachronistic materials in one great *potpourri.* The questions can now be posed: what was the original administrative document, what were its official connections, and what date and purpose can be ascribed to its composition?

III. Historical Context of the Official Document

Contrary to now common belief, the internal evidence of the official lists clearly points to a pre-Augustan date. This conclusion is confirmed by a detailed examination of the known historical context of early municipal development in Africa. On balance, the whole argument indicates a date between 46 and 44 B. C.

III.1. Colonial Settlements of Caesar and Augustus. The Problem of Africa vetus and Africa nova

In his main narrative (*HN*, V, 1–28) the Elder Pliny is clearly aware of the existence of Augustan colonies in Africa.[22] Yet the lists in the appendix do *not* recognize any of Augustus' settlements in *Africa proconsularis*. A few examples will suffice. It is well known that Simitthus (mod. Shamtū) was an Augustan colony, and yet the lists cite it merely as an *oppidum civium Romanorum*.[23] Thabraca is another Augustan colony listed merely as an *oppidum civium Romanorum*.[24] *It is most improbable, therefore, that these lists could have been composed in the latter part of Augustus' reign if the compiler did not even know of the existence of a single Augustan colonial settlement in Africa.* And if the identification of Absuritanum with Assuras is correct, then there is yet another example of an Augustan colony of which the lists are ignorant.[25] But there is more evidence. An indication of an even earlier *terminus ante quem* for the list is provided by the list of *oppida libera*. The towns of Clupea and Curubis were almost certainly granted colonial status by Caesar, and yet both are still listed merely as free towns.[26] Carpis is another Caesarean colony in the Cap Bon Peninsula that is simply labelled an *oppidum* by Pliny.[27] There are at least two other towns that have a reasonable claim to be Caesarean colonial foundations,

[22] Namely Zulil (*NH*, 5.22), Babba (5.5), Cartenna, Rusguniae, Rusazus and Saldae (5.20), and Sicca, east of the Amsaga (5.22).

[23] Simitthus (mod. Shamtû, Fr. Chemtou): *C.* 14612 = *ILS* 6823: Co[l(onia)] I[u]l(ia) / Aug(usta) Num[id]ica [Si]m[i]thensium; as an *oppidum civium Romanorum*, see Append. A, no. 6.

[24] Thabraca (mod. Tabarqa): *ILAlg.* I, 109 = *ILS* 5976a (with further references in no. 20.4 above): Col(onia) V. P. Iul(ia) Thabr/acenorum; cf. Mallon, *Libyca* (Arch.-épigr.) 3 (1955) 315f.; as an *oppidum civium Romanorum* see Append. A, no. 14.

[25] Assuras (mod. Zanfûr): *C.* 1798: Col(onia) Iul(ia) Assuras, and *AE* 1913: 40: [Coloniae] / Iuliae Assuritanae; cf. Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 31, 175–76; as an *oppidum civium Romanorum* see Append. A, no. 1.

[26] Clupea (mod. Kelibia): *C.* X, 6104 = *ILS* 1945; Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 112. Curubis (mod. Korba): *C.* 980: Col(onia) Iul(ia) Curubis; *C.* 977: C(aio) Caesare imp(eratore) co(n)s(ule) II[ii] /L. Pomponius L(ucii) l(ibertus) Malc[hio] / duovir (quinquennalis?) / murum oppidi totum ex saxo quadrato aedific(andum) coer(avit); cf. *C.* 978 (21 B.C.) and 24100.

[27] Carpis (mod. al-Mraîssa): *C.* 25417 = *ILS* 6782: Col(onia) Iulia Carpitana; of Octavian (?), see Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 160, or of Caesar (?), see *ibid.*, 113; cf. *C.* 24106 = *ILS* 9367.

namely Thysdrus and Neapolis, but they too appear only as *oppida libera* in the appendix.[28] If only Clupea and Curubis are accepted, however, the point is made. Once again, *the compiler is ignorant of important Caesarean grants of colonial status in Africa and so one has good reason to suspect that the lists must date to some time before 44 B.C.* Closer analysis of the rest of the appendix provides further clues to date and composition that confirm this suspicion. Before advancing to this analysis, however, let us consider one further telling point.

In his survey of the region of Byzacium (c. 24*fin.* to 25) that is, the southern regions of Africa province, Pliny depends on two sources: 1) the Map of Agrippa for the distances in Roman miles, and 2) the 'appendix' for the statuses of the towns and cities. Having listed numerous *oppida libera* in the region (*hic oppida libera Leptis . . . Sabrata*) Pliny completes the chapter by summarizing the status of the *provincial* administration in a passage that is also taken from the 'appendix' (probably from the end of it, after the list of *nationes*). He states (25 *fin.*):

> Ea pars, quam Africam appellavimus, dividitur in duas provincias, veterem et novam, discretas fossa inter Africanum sequentem et reges Thenas usque perducta. . .

Now it is true that the internal division of *Africa proconsularis* into *vetus* and *nova* appears to have remained in force for some time; a *fossa* marked some important division *within* the province of Africa at least until Flavian times and probably well beyond.[29] Pliny's statement, however, is more explicit than any simple reference to an internal administrative division. The passage clearly states that the *region* (*not* the *province*) of Africa *is* divided (*n. b.* the present tense) into two *provinces* (*Africa vetus* and *Africa nova*). This situation certainly did not exist at the time Pliny was writing. In fact, the description of the administrative situation in Africa in the passage above could only refer to a

[28] Neapolis (mod. Nabûl): *C.* 968: Col(onia) Iul(ia) Neapolis; cf. Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 88; Gsell, *HAAN* 8 (1929) 178; Vittinghoff, *Bürgerrechtspolitik*, 82, and Gascou, *Politique municipale*, 21. Thysdrus: *C.* 51 = *ILS* 5777; *C.* 2343, 2406, 22895, 22845; *ILTun.* 111; and *AE* 1947: 138. Gascou *Politique municipale*, 192–94 believes a Caesarean colony, but cf. the inscription from Arles: ". . . o[riundus / m]unicipio Septimia libe[ra . . ./ T]hysdritanus" – A. Beschaouch, *Latomus* 26 (1967) 405–08.

[29] On the Fossa Regia see Eumachos, *FHG*, III, 102, no. 2 = Jacoby, *FGrH* 2.B (no. 178, Eumachos von Neapel), fr. 2; Appian, *Lib.* (IV) 53; Dio 47.9. Modern commentary can be found in C. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine de l'Afrique*, 2 vols., Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1884–1888, vol. 2, 14f.; Gsell, *HAAN* 3[3] (1928) 327f.; L. Poinssot, "Note sur la *Fossa Regia*", *CRAI* (1907) 466–81; Ch. Saumagne, "Observations sur la trace de la *Fossa Regia*", *RAL* 4.4 (1928) 451–59 = *CT* 10 (1962) *Mélanges Saumagne*, 509–16; and M. Leglay, "Les Flaviens et l'Afrique", *MEFR* 80 (1968) 201–46, at p. 222–29, "Le problème de la *Fossa Regia*", for the Flavian resurvey.

very brief time span when Africa existed as *two provinces*, namely some time between the creation of *Africa nova* by Caesar in 46 B.C. and the merging of the two provinces into a united Africa in 42 B.C.[30] Hence we have already narrowed the date for the lists to the period between 46 and 42 B. C., even before approaching the information in the lists themselves.

III.2. The Six Colonies

At the beginning of the appendix Pliny lists the cities of the highest official status, the *coloniae*. He states that they were six in all, 'praeter iam dictas, Uthinam, Thuburbi'. By saying 'praeter iam dictas' Pliny is alluding explicitly to the method of composition discussed above, namely, the excerpting of important known cities from the lists in the writing of the main narrative. The other *four* colonies that Pliny has 'already mentioned' in the region east of the River Amsaga are: Cirta (c. 22), Sicca (c. 22), Carthage (c. 24) and Maxula (c. 24). We should now look at each of these towns and their status in turn.

III.2.a. *Colonia Carthago Magnae in vestigiis Carthaginis*

The above six words are the only notice Pliny accords the Roman colony of Carthage (c. 24) which in his own time had become the great urban hub of all Africa and, after Rome, the second metropolis of the Western Mediterranean. It does seem odd that such an important colonial foundation made by Caesar and Augustus should receive only a passing reference of this type. 'The colony of Carthage founded on the ruins of Great (Punic) Carthage' is the way in which the official list recorded the town. For an official survey the appellation seems strange, even improper. The colony founded by Caesar had an official title that is well known from epigraphic records: *Colonia Concordia Iulia Karthago.*[31] Not even the brief epithet *Iulia* of the coin legends is recognized in spite of the fact that Pliny does list epithets such as *Iulia* and *Augusta* elsewhere in his geography of Africa in connection with colonial foundations. The point here is not just the omission of the formal epithet in the context of an official list of colonies (which could occur in the main geography, as in the case of Banasa in Mauretania) but the fact that the whole description of

[30] The date of the merging of the two provinces is established by D. Fishwick & B. D. Shaw, "The Formation of Africa Proconsularis", *Hermes* 105 (1977) 369–80; J. Desanges' statement in his "Le statut des municipes d'après les données africaines", *RHD* 50 (1972) 353–73, at p. 363–64, that the lists draw no distinction between *Africa vetus* and *Africa nova* is simply not true; cf. R. Cagnat, *BMIR* 1 (1930) 77–85.

[31] On the Julian colony see, most recently, C. van Nerom, "Colonia Iulia Concordia Karthago", (in) *Hommages à M. Renard*, ed. J. Bibauw, *Collection Latomus* 102, Berchem Bruxelles, vol. 2 (1962) 767–76, with references. On its plan see Ch. Saumagne, "Colonia Iulia Karthago", *BCTH* (1924) 131–40 = "Le plan de la Colonie Julienne de Carthage", *CT* 10 (1962) 463–71.

Carthage contains no inkling of either the Caesarean or Augustan foundations. If the list is post-Caesarean then the omission of one of Caesar's most fundamental actions in Africa, the re-establishment of Carthage as *the* urban centre of the new province and his belated renewal of the Gracchan vision, is truly startling. Such an omission must be considered decisive in evaluating a document of this type; and if the document was of late Augustan date then it should have been even more explicit about the action of Octavianus in continuing his father's work.[32]

The only alternative, and the logical solution to the problem, is that the reference must be to the *first* colony proposed by C. Gracchus for the site, the ill-fated *Colonia Iunonia*. Whereas it is true that the operation of the *Lex Rubria* of 123 to settle 6000 (or more) colonists on the former site of Punic Carthage was abolished by the terms of the *Lex Opimia* of 121, it is certain that the *triumviri agris iudicandis adsignandis* did manage to begin their task.[33] They began laying out the cadaster of *Colonia Iunonia* and the assignation of the allotments to the colonists.[34] Since it was two years before the programme came to an end, it is relatively certain that at least some settlers were established on their new 200 *iugera* allotments.[35] This much is confirmed by the terms of the *Lex Agraria* of 111 which state that, in spite of the abrogation of the founding legislation, all such colonists who were established at the site were to be guaranteed their original property rights (presumably as per the Gracchan *Lex Rubria*).[36]

The large numbers of Roman citizens settled in the territory of the former Punic metropolis could not be ignored by any subsequent administrator; they were a *de facto* colony. But this was not the only 'unofficial' colonial settlement recognized in the Plinian 'appendix' (see the cases of Cirta and Sicca, below). When the case of Carthage is connected with the other examples of such quasi-colonial settlements, it is clear that it fits the context of 46–42 B. C. very well. All these settlements have the same type of connection with the one man who desired to recognize the status of these 'colonies' temporarily

[32] Octavianus sent out settlers in 29 B.C. (App. *BC*, 1.24; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 9; App. *Lib.* (IV) 136) – 3000 of them with the intent of drafting more from the surrounding regions. For Carthage as part of Octavianus' continuation of Caesar's project, see S. Gsell, "Les premiers temps de la Carthage romaine", *RH* 156 (1927) 225–40 and *HAAN* 7 (1928) 58f.

[33] On the Gracchan colony see App. *BC*, 1.24.104; and Ch. Saumagne, "Notes de topographie carthaginoise, II: Vestiges de la colonie de C. Gracchus à Carthage", *BCTH* (1928–29) 648–64 = "Le plan de la colonie Gracchane de Carthage", *CT* 10 (1962) 483–87, esp. 487. The Gracchan plan was taken over by Caesar-Octavianus' cadastration of 29 B.C., which followed a different orientation, see fig. 3, p. 484.

[34] On their operations see *ILTun.* 892 (120 B.C.) and Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 2–4.

[35] Cf. Fronto, *ad Ver.* II.1, "Gracchus . . . Karthaginem viritim dividebat . . ."

[36] Lex Agraria, ss. 59–61 (*CIL*, I², 585, p. 455; *FIRA*, I², no. 8, 102–21, p. 117–18; E. G. Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, 35–90, p. 78).

until he could formalize them. That man is, of course, Caesar. An apocryphal story recorded in Appian reveals that Caesar, when camped near the site of Carthage in 46, dreamed of refounding the city and immediately made a memorandum to that effect.[37] Simplistic propaganda, but doubtless an accurate reflection of Caesar's decision, taken before his departure from African shores that summer, to re-establish the first city of Africa. Perhaps even more striking is the verbal similarity between the Plinian description of this Carthage as *colonia. . . magnae in vestigiis Carthaginis* with Livy's description of the Gracchan colony as *in solo dirutae Carthaginis.*[38] There can be little doubt as to which Carthaginian colony the notice in the appendix refers – not to the Caesarean refoundation, but to the earlier Gracchan attempt.

III.2.b. The Status of Cirta and Sicca

In the passage in Pliny dealing with the region of Cirta the text reads as follows:

> Oppidum Chullu, Rusicade, et ab eo XLVIII in mediterraneo colonia Cirta Sittianorum cognomine. . .

Firstly, and most obviously, it is clear from this information that the official appendix did not know of the existence of the Cirtan Federation. The mention of a colony at Cirta is not linked in any special way with Chullu and Rusicade, and the third member of the federation, Milev, is not even noted. Chullu and Rusicade are mentioned for the obvious reason that they were included as coastal towns in the *periplous*; given this source, it is quite easy to understand why Pliny merely calls them *oppida* although in his time they were Augustan colonies. So, too, it explains why Milev, a city in the hinterland, is omitted altogether. Faced with the difficulty of no information about urban centres in the hinterland, Pliny had recourse to the 'appendix' to provide what detail he could; but the 'appendix' only contained a bare reference to Cirta, no more. Again, the significant fact to note is the name of the colony at Cirta as the lists specified it: simply *colonia Cirta Sittianorum cognomine.* That is of particular assistance in dating the list. The full name of the Augustan colony at Cirta is known: *Colonia Iulia Iuvenalis Honoris et Virtutis Cirta.*[39]

Based on epigraphic and literary data, the municipal development of Cirta has been separated into three distinct phases, beginning with its foundation in 46/44 B. C. as a near-independent principality by the Campanian mercenary captain P. Sittius of Nuceria. But this foundation was only a *de facto*

[37] App. *Lib.* (IV) 136.

[38] Livy, *Ep.* LX.

[39] *ILAlg.* II, 1, 626 = *ILS* 6857; *ILAlg.* II, 1, 1999 (Cirta); cf. *C.* 7041, 7071; for Mela, *de Chorogr.* 1.6.30: "Cirta procul mari; nunc Sittianorum colonia".

settlement of irregular soldiers on African soil – it had no formal recognition as a *colonia*. Then, at some point between 44 and 27, Sittius' foundation was recognized as a formal Roman *colonia* with the epithet *Iulia*. Finally, in 26 B.C. there was a formal *deductio* of new colonists by Augustus whereupon the city received the additional names *Iuvenalis, Honoris*, and *Virtutis*.[40] For our purposes it is sufficient to note that the description of Cirta in Pliny merely as 'Sittian' must antedate the second stage, the formation of the Julian colony. Further, it seems probable that Caesar would have attempted some regularization of affairs at Cirta after the completion of the war in Africa, though this is not necessary. All the epithet *Iulia* tells us is that some step must have been taken to make the colony 'official' after 46 but before 27 B.C.[41]

There is good reason to believe that the unofficial colony at Cirta may have been recognized finally by Augustus, though while he was still Octavianus. This much may be deduced from an analysis of the so-called 'other Cirta', namely Sicca Veneria. Sicca is one of the six colonies included in the 'appendix'. The reason for its excerption (as with Cirta) is the fact that it is an inland centre for which no *periplous* could give Pliny any information. But in Pliny's account it is interesting to note that Sicca follows *directly* upon the mention of Cirta itself: . . . *et alia (sc. colonia) intus Sicca*. The close connection between Cirta and Sicca is not just fortuitous – we know that the full name of the Roman colony at Sicca was *Colonia Iulia Sicca Veneria Cirta Nova*.[42] But it is not just the fact that Sicca was called "Cirta Nova" that strikes. The Roman citizens of Sicca were enrolled in the same voting tribe as the Cirtans, the *Quirina*.[43] *Veneria* was also an epithet shared by Rusicade, one of the other colonies of the Cirtan Federation.[44] In the case of Sicca it is clear that the epithet *Iulia* in the official name of the town must refer to the raising of the city to the status of a colony by Octavianus.[45] Considering the very close link

[40] See esp. A. Piganiol & H.-G. Pflaum, "Borne de Ksar Mahidjiba", *RSAC* 68 (1953) 215–28 = *AE* 1955: 202; cf. A. Berthier, "*Colonia Cirta Sittianorum*", *RSAC* 70 (1957–59) 89–118.

[41] Cf. Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 71 and 42 where he notes that the Cirtan colony of 'stage 2' is not noted and therefore the source 'um das Jahre 46 v. Chr. entstanden'.

[42] *C.* 1632, 15858, 15868, and 16258 (Sicca Veneria).

[43] See W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim descriptum*, Vienna, F. Tempsky, 1889, 141–44, 153ff. Both cities shared a special type of organization of their rural hinterlands through the device of attributed *castella* that appears to be unique amongst African municipalities, see U. Laffi, *Adtributio e contributio. Problemi del sistema politico amministrativo della stato Romano* (Studi di lettere, storia e filosofia, Scuola Normale di Pisa, no. 35), Pisa, Nistri-Lischi, 1966, and Broughton, *Romanization*, 76. There must in fact have existed a common bond and organization basis between the two cities already during the period of the African kingdoms, see. G. Camps, *Aux origines de la Berbérie: Massinissa ou les débuts de l'histoire* = *Libyca* (Arch.-épigr.) 8 (1960) 191–96 (henceforth, *Massinissa*) and Sall. *Bell. Iug.* 56.

[44] See *ILAlg.* II, 1: 5, 8, 17, 24, 687, 702, 3610–11 (Skikda).

[45] *C.* 27568 = *ILS* 6773: Divo Augusto / conditori / Siccenses. The dedication is of late date and so naturally refers to the emperor as 'Augustus' rather than 'Octavianus', but the epithet *Iulia*

between the two cities, it seems quite likely that the same must also apply to the epithet *Iulia* in Cirta's official colonial name.[46]

We are now able to understand the full meaning of the Pliny lists. At the time of the redaction of the original administrative document, both cities were indeed 'colonies' but only in a *de facto*, not a *de iure* sense; and both were connected with the actual settlement of veterans on the land by the same man, Publius Sittius.[47] It was only later, sometime between 44 and 27 B.C., that Octavianus formalized the status of both cities as *coloniae Iuliae*. The official list, being prior to this time in date, only registers a Cirta "Sittianorum cognomine" and another "colonia" Sicca. The lists definitely antedate 27 B.C., but probably reflect a much earlier situation when it would have been expedient for Octavianus to recognize the Sittian colonies, that is, during the period of the Civil Wars – certainly no later than 42 B.C. The information in the lists reflects accurately the status of the two cities after their foundation by P. Sittius in 46 but before their formal recognition as *coloniae Iuliae* sometime before 42 B.C.

III.2.c. Uthina and Thuburbo Minus

Two of the remaining colonies listed by Pliny in the appendix at first seem to provide difficulties. They are *Thuburbo* and *Uthina*. Uthina (mod. Oudna) is known from an inscription found at Rome as *Colonia Iulia Tertiadecim* [*anorum*] *Uthina*.[48] The Thuburbo to which Pliny refers is Thuburbo Minus (mod. Tébourba), known officially as *colonia VIII (Octavanorum)*

in Sicca's official name clearly shows that it was 'Octavianus' who was the *conditor coloniae* (*pace* Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 173–74).

[46] The study of the immigrant nomenclature of Sicca Veneria by J. M. Lassère, *Ubique Populus: peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique romaine* . . . (henceforth *Ubique Populus*), Paris, Editions du C. N. R. S., 1977, 149–55 establishes many links with both Cirta and Campania that must be connected ultimately with the actions of P. Sittius; one should not, however, be led by these similarities to accept the arguments of R. Charlier, "La Numidie vue par Salluste. Cirta Regia, Constantine ou Le Kef?", *AC* 19 (1950) 289–307 on the identification with al-Kaf with the Cirta of Sallust.

[47] See Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 173–74 for a refutation of F. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Abhandlungen, no. 4), Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1951 (henceforth *Bürgerrechtspolitik*) 113, no. 2 and 126, no. 9 that the epithet Veneria is to be connected with Caesar; more probably it is to be linked with the cult of an African deity in the city who was identified with the Greco-Roman Venus-Aphrodite, see Val. Max. 2.6.15.

[48] *C.* VI, 36917 = *ILS* 6784 (Rome); cf. Romanelli, *Storia*, 197; Chevallier, *MEFR* 69 (1958) 89, and Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 167–68, all of whom believe it to be an Augustan colony; the only dissenting voice is that of Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 594, no. 44, ". . . *perhaps* Caesarian; Caesar had the 13th legion with him in Africa in 46." (*m. .i.*).

Thuburbi.[49] In our handbooks both cities are ordinarily listed as 'Augustan colonies' or, to be more precise, Octavian settlements.[50] But *are* they? The case is hardly closed. The Thirteenth Legion was one of Caesar's most seasoned units, and was transported to Africa to engage in combat during the last stages of his war with the Pompeian forces.[51] The colony at Thuburbo Minus, therefore, is more probably a Caesarean viritim settlement of veterans from his 13th Legion following the close of the war in Africa. The same observation applies to the Eighth Legion. The fully revised text of the *Bellum Africum* (not, most unfortunately, used by modern historians who have studied this question) clearly shows that both the eighth and the thirteenth legions were with Caesar in Africa, whereas there is no evidence at all to connect them with Augustus.[52] The colonies noted by the Plinian lists at Thuburbo and Uthina, therefore, were *not* part of the Augustan settlement after Actium, but were viritim veteran settlements made by Caesar upon completion of the war in Africa in 46 B.C.

III.2.d. The Case of Maxula

All the six cities listed by Pliny are known colonies with the sole exception of the problem posed by *Maxula* (mod. Rhadès). An inscription from Largo Argentina in Rome seems to substantiate Pliny's claim of colonial status for the town.[53] Teutsch claimed that this epigraphic evidence was very tenuous, and that it was contradicted by other, better epigraphic data showing Maxula as only a *civitas.* In addition, the *Codex Parisinus* ('E') of the 10th century has preserved an alternative, more sensible reading of Pliny:[54]

> . . . colonia Carthago Magnae in vestigiis Carthaginis, colonia, et Maxula. . .

[49] *ILAfr.* 414, 1. 6f.; see A. Héron de Villefosse, "Une inscription de Tébourba, "Colonia Octavanorum Thuburbo", *CRAI* (1913) 436–40; Teutsch, *Städtewesen,* 169–70; most believe it to be an Augustan foundation, see Romanelli, *Storia,* 195, and Broughton, *Romanization,* 68–69, no. 134; and even Brunt, *Italian Manpower,* 594, no. 45, "But the 8th legion was *not* with Caesar in 46 (Rice Holmes iii. 534f.) – at the earliest after Actium" (*m. i.*). A further argument is that Caesar left three legions in Africa in 46 (App. *BC,* 3.85; cf. Gsell, *HAAN* 8 (1928) 166; cf. *Bell. Afr.* 19.3; 54.1; App. *BC,* 2.92–94; Dio 43.14.1), and the Senate recalled two of these to Italy in November of 43 (App. *BC,* 3.91–92). One of these legions must be either the 8th or 13th, and so the *viritim* settlement was complete at least by 43, and probably much earlier.

[50] See Lassère, *Ubique Populus,* 202, no. 283; and Gascou, *Politique municipale,* 24, citing the earlier views of Vittinghoff, *Bürgerrechtspolitik,* 111; Teutsch, *Städtewesen,* 167–69.

[51] See the references in *Bell. Afr.*. 60.

[52] See the excellent note, p. 101 (on *Bell. Afr.* 56.1. 22) of A. Bouvet, *César, Guerre de l'Afrique,* Paris, "Les Belles Lettres", 1949 (éditions . . . Budé); cf. *Bell. Afr.* 62, no. 11 and introd. p. x, no. 4, and *app. crit., ad loc.* where VIII stands.

[53] *AE* 1948: 91, reading *col*[*onia Iulia*] *Ind*(*ustria,* or *-ulgentia*) *Max*(*ula*) as suggested by A. Degrassi, *Doxa* 2 (1949) 77–78 = *Scritti vari di Antichità,* 1962, 348 = *AE* 1949: 175.

[54] See Teutsch, *Städtewesen,* 44-46.

But there *are* additional epigraphic data in inscriptions recording the *origines* of serving soldiers in Africa that seem to substantiate Pliny's claim, and Teutsch's recourse to a secondary reading in the MSS. does not seem particularly compelling.[55] The point is that if Pliny had recognized Maxula as a peregrine *civitas* he would not have included it in his list of six colonies. To Pliny, Maxula was a colony, even if he was mistaken in this view. For our purposes, however, it is a mute point; since nothing is known about the putative municipal history of Maxula, it cannot be used for evidence for either side of the present debate.

To sum up: the statuses of five of the six colonies in the lists (little being known about the sixth, Maxula, at any time) confirm a date of 46–44 B.C. Two of Caesar's viritim veteran colonies are noted, but his establishment of Carthage is not, and Sicca and Cirta are still merely 'Sittian' foundations.

III.3. Oppidum Latinum Unum Uzalitanum

The case of Uzalis, like that of *Castra Cornelia* (see section III.4 below) is rather puzzling. Why should Pliny bother to mention only *one* city of this type? And what precisely is meant by the term *oppidum Latinum*? From the terms of the *Lex Agraria* of 111 B.C. we know that Uzalis was a *civitas libera* at that time.[56] Apparently, like one other city in the Plinian list of *oppida libera* (Utica) Uzalis had lost its 'free status' in the interim. It seems most probable that Uzalis, a town near Utica (less than 10 km to the north) lost its freedom at the same time as Utica and for the same reason: for supporting the Pompeiani too eagerly during the Civil War in 46. This still does not solve the problem of what is meant by the term *oppidum Latinum.* At no other time does Pliny use such a term to define either a city of the Latin right or a *municipium.* The closest analogous term used in his geography of Africa is that for Arsennaria in Mauretania, which he calls an *oppidum Latinorum* (c. 19). It is opposed in status to the nearby towns of Quiza Centana, an *oppidum peregrinorum,* and Cartenna (mod. Ténès), a *colonia Augusti.* It seems, by analogy with the *oppida civium Romanorum* (see below section V) that Pliny must mean that there were large numbers of Latins in Uzalis – a sufficient reason to justify its inclusion in the lists, even though it had lost its former privileged status of *oppidum liberum.* It seems equally certain that Uzalis finds a special place in the list because of its proximity to both Utica and Castra Cornelia – both of which were important sites during Caesar's campaigns in Africa.

[55] *C.* 2567, l. 38; 18067a, l. 3; and 18087, *dextr.* l. 41 (Lambaesis); Ptolemy 4.3.2 refers to the town as a colony, but the Antonine Itinerary calls both Maxula and Leptis Minus *civitates*; see Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 581.

[56] For the *Lex Agraria*, see no. 60 below. For its location, see now, L. Maurin & J. Peyras, "Uzalitana: la région de l'Ansarine dans l'Antiquité", *CT* 19 (1971) 11–103.

III.4. Oppidum Stipendiarium Unum Castris Corneliis

Again, the suspicion is immediately aroused: why does Pliny mention this site at all? There was a plethora of stipendiary towns in the province of Africa, that is, all those peregrine communities that owed a tax (*stipendium*) to the Roman state. To mention only *one* of them is rather odd and, in fact, Pliny first notes the town in the main body of his text merely as a 'place' (*locus Castra Cornelia*, c. 24). The second mention in the 'appendix' adds nothing to this. Why then does the official appendix mention one insignificant stipendiary town out of all those in the province of Africa?[57] The place, only two kilometres east of Utica, was named after P. Cornelius Scipio who made his winter camp here in the autumn of 204 B.C.[58] Its only real significance after that date is its connection with Caesar's campaigns during the Civil Wars; it was at this place that his lieutenant C. Curio staged his abortive attack on the Pompeian forces in Africa.[59] Therefore one might conjecture without too much risk that the reason for the inclusion of Castra Cornelia in the 'appendix' is that the compiler was associated with Caesar's operations in Africa and attached special importance to it because of Curio's expedition.

IV. The Free Cities of Africa

Since the less problematic status of those cities that remain to be considered is that of the *oppida libera*, let us turn to them first. As of ca. 46 B.C. the official lists recognized thirty of these cities in Africa from Mateur northwest of Carthage to Sabratha on the Mediterranean coast of the Lesser Syrtis.[60] By definition, cities granted the status of 'free' were within 'provincial' boundaries. In this context, four of the cities mentioned by Pliny are of particular interest: Bulla Regia (no. 19), Macomades (no. 28), Tacape (no. 29), and Sabratha (no. 30), to which we might provisionally add Zama (no. 18). All these cities were outside the boundaries of the *old* province of Africa.[61] The *Lex Agraria* of 111 B.C. lists the cities granted the status of *civitates liberae et*

[57] As Cuntz, *op. cit.* 41 put it so aptly, "Nemo putabit unam solam Africae civitatem fuisse stipendiariam", citing *C.* 68 (12 B.C.) in proof, if proof was ever needed.

[58] Livy 29.35.12–15; Polyb. 14.6.7; and Oros. *Adv. pagan.* 4.22.1; cf. Tissot, *Géographie comparée*, II, 83.

[59] Caes. *BC*, 2.23–24; Mela, *de Chorogr.* 1.34; Ptolemy 4.3; and App. *BC*, 2.44; cf. A. Lézine, *Karthago* 7 (1956) 127–38.

[60] See the list in Appendix A.

[61] Macomades, Tacape, and Sabratha are all beyond the southern limits of the province of *Africa vetus* at Thaenae. Even on the most optimistic westward extension of the *Fossa Regia*, Bulla Regia is still further to the west. The only problem is Zama. Teutsch (endmap) swings the line of the *Fossa* far to the south purposefully to include Zama, but this appears highly artificial and, without any evidential basis, it must be abandoned.

immunes following the defeat of Carthage in 146: Utica, Hadrumetum, Thapsus, Leptis Minus, Acholla, Uzalis, and Theudalis.[62] Of these cities, in Pliny's list Uzalis has become a 'Latin town' and Utica a 'town of Roman citizens'. Thus, between 146 B.C. and 46 B.C. twenty-five new *oppida libera* had been created. The number is large, even surprising. What possible circumstances could have been similar in gravity to the crisis of the third Romano-Carthaginian war that would have led Rome to extend this privileged status to so many other towns? By extending the status of 'free city' to those towns that remained loyal during her third major conflict with Carthage, Rome sought to reward those who had benefited her cause. The obvious parallel cases would be the grave situation in the early phases of the war with Jugurtha, which threatened the very existence of the Roman province in Africa, and the period of Civil Wars that erupted between the forces of Pompey and Caesar in 49 B.C. In these cases a similar policy of guaranteeing and rewarding loyalty by extending the right of 'freedom' would have been a logical one to follow. An examination of the geographical distribution and type of cities involved will help in the identification of possible situations in which such grants might have been made.

1) One group of cities is located along the coastline between the Lesser Syrtis and the Gulf of Gabès (Thaenae, Macomades, Tacape, Sabratha).
2) A second group is located along the Cap Bon – Sahelian coastline (Avitta, Aggar, Clupea, Curubis, Neapolis, Ruspina, Thysdrus, Ulusubburita, and Vaga *aliud*).
3) A third group is located in the hinterland of Carthage, centred in the Upper Bagradas-Siliana Valley (Abbir Cella, Thizika, Thagaste, Zama, Bulla Regia).

These three categories embrace most of the 'free cities' mentioned by Pliny. Clearly the first two groups are connected with the circumstances of the Jugurthine War.[63] It is known that during the course of the war Lepcis sent ambassadors of high rank to Metellus after the capture of Thala with the mission to ask to be accepted as Roman allies (*socii*). Indeed, the Lepcitani had already sought this privilege at the beginning of the war, sending an embassy to the consul Bestia to request friendship and alliance (*amicitiam et societatem rogatum*). This time the request was granted and four cohorts of Ligurians were sent to the city (*Bell. Iug.* 77.1). So it seems likely that Macomades,

[62] *Lex Agraria*, ss. 79 (cf. refs. no. 36 above): ". . . populorum leiberorum Uticensium, H[adrumtinorum T]ampsitanorum, Leiptitanorum, Aquillitanorum, Usalitanorum, Teudalensium, quom in ameicitiam populei Romani proxumum / [venerunt, . . ."

[63] See the following references in Sall. *Bell. Iug.*, for Thala Capsa: 75.1,2,6,9; 77.1; 80.1; 89.4,6; 91.3–4; 97.1; for the Syrtes and Lepcis: 77.1,2; 78; 79.1; for the River Muthul-Sicca Region: 48.3; 56.3–5; Theraei: 19.3; Thirmida: 12.3; Utica: 25.5; 63.1; 64.5; 86.4; 140.1; Vaga: 29.4; 47.1; 68.1–3; 66.2; 69.1–3; and Zama: 56.1; 57.1; 58.1; 60.1, and 61.1.

Tacape and Sabratha may have made similar arrangements at the same time and became *civitates foederatae* during the course of the war. Zama was another important centre in the war; the old African capital city was the scene of one of the major battles (*Bell. Iug.* 56–61). The other royal centres were inevitably involved in the conflict, notably Bulla Regia, Hippo Regius and Sicca Veneria.[64] The remaining cities are not specified in the Sallustian account, but must have been affected by operations extending up the River Muthul (*Bell. Iug.* 48.5) to the region of Béja (anc. Vaga, cf. *Bell. Iug.* 29.4, 47.1, 66.2, 68.1–3, and 69.1–3). Either during the war or shortly after these cities were probably offered special status as 'friends and allies' of the Roman people, just as Lepcis had been. As long as they remained beyond the frontiers of the old Roman province of Africa, they continued to have the status of allied cities. In the list Pliny used as his source, however, these same towns are recorded as *civitates liberae*. The change in status is easy to explain, and sheds further light on the dating of the document. The most economical explanation is that all these cities: Bulla Regia, Lepcis, Sabratha, and all the rest were now located *within* a provincial frontier, which would have to be that of the greater province of Africa (*post* 42 B.C.) or *Africa nova* (post 46 B.C.). They could no longer remain sovereign 'friends and allies' of the Roman state, but their special status within the province could be maintained by granting them the status of 'free cities'. Why then, one might ask, is Lepcis no longer included in Pliny's list as a 'free city'? It should have this status since it became a 'friend and ally' during the war with Jugurtha. Its privileged status should have been 'transformed' when it was encompassed within Roman provincial boundaries by a grant of 'freedom'. But the reason why it was not is apparent. Caesar took harsh measures against the city in 46 B.C. for its role in the Civil War in Africa; the massive fines and reprimands imposed on the city must have been accompanied by the removal of its status as *civitas foederata* and the loss of any opportunity of shifting this privileged status to that of 'free city'.[65] Former royal cities such as Zama and Bulla Regia, however, would have been permitted to retain a comparatively privileged status within the new province

[64] See Camps, *Massinissa*, 212–13, 257–58 on these royal centres.

[65] On the boundaries of the province see *Bell. Afr.* 97.1; the same passage states that Caesar reduced Juba's kingdom to a new province. That Lepcis was outside his kingdom and probably still a *civitas foederata* of Rome can be seen clearly from Caes. *BC*, 2.38.1 where Juba is *recalled* to his kingdom by wars on the frontiers and arguments with the Lepcitani; the nature of these arguments is made clear by *Bell. Afr.* 97: a dissension amongst the *principes* of the city over an alliance with Juba. Doubtless the king was pressing the city for support, which he eventually received (*armis militibus pecunia iuverant*). On the fines levied by Caesar, see S. Gsell, "L'huile de Leptis", *Riv. Trip.* 1 (1924–25) 41–46; R. M. Haywood, "The Oil of Lepcis", *CPh* 36 (1941) 246–56, and P. W. Townsend, "The Oil Tribute of Africa at the time of Julius Caesar", *CPh* 35 (1940) 274–83. As the boast by Caesar about the tribute from his new province in Africa (Plut. *Caes.* 55) makes clear, the oil tribute was from Lepcis Magna in *Africa nova*.

created by Caesar. Zama, in fact, was probably the new administrative centre of *Africa nova*.[66] Sabratha, the sister city of Lepcis, was allowed to make the transfer from *civitas foederata* to *civitas libera* presumably because, as usual, it supported the opposite faction to Lepcis in the Civil War.[67] Presumably this also accounts for the loss of 'free' status by Utica, a status it had held since the end of the third war with Carthage – and the same would apply to Uzalis.[68] Nevertheless, because of the large number of Roman citizens in the former town, and the large number of Latins in the latter, Caesar felt obliged to notice the special status of the large formal 'citizen' groups in them (see below, section V).

Caesar himself was probably responsible for some of these grants of 'free status'. The document fits rather well with some of the putative actions Caesar would have taken towards the coastal cities of the Sahel and Cap Bon Peninsula as military commander in 46 (*i. e.*, those towns listed in group two above). Obviously he sought to woo some cities by rewarding them with 'free status', just as we know that he punished others like Lepcis Magna for siding with the Pompeiani. Some of the obvious candidates are the city states along the Sahelian coast of Tunisia that figure prominently in the *Bellum Africum*. Prime amongst these are Thysdrus (*Bell. Afr.* 36.2, 76.1, 97.3), Ruspina (67.1), Aggar (67.1, 76.2, 79.1), the *Vagense aliud* (74.1), and Zama in the interior (91. 1). The case of Zama is illustrative of circumstances in which Caesar would have wished to reward a city with free status. First, the town was *not* (*pace* Teutsch) within the *Fossa Regia* that marked the boundary of the old Roman province. The royal tributes and taxes that had been collected at Zama up to 46 B.C. and which Caesar let out before leaving Africa prove that Zama had been the capital city of Juba I's kingdom up to the time of his defeat.[69] The same passage in the *Bellum Africum* reveals that there were Roman citizens resident in Zama who sided with Juba I and Scipio. These persons had their goods confiscated and sold at auction by Caesar for their traitorous actions. The African populace of Zama, on the other hand, were rewarded by a lightening of their tribute burden for their actions in refusing to open the gates of their town to the forces of Juba I. It would seem probable that the town ultimately also received *libertas* from Caesar in 46.[70]

[66] *Bell. Afr.* 97.1.

[67] M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas: A Historical Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire, 49 B.C. – A.D. 14*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1946, 341, cites the numismatic evidence, but mistakenly attributes the *libertas* to 7–6 B.C. under Augustus; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4.50 on the inveterate hostility between Sabratha and Lepcis.

[68] Cf. *Bell. Afr.* 90.1–3 for the fines levied on the *conventus* and city of Utica.

[69] *Bell. Afr.* 97.1, "... tributis, vectigalibusque regiis locatis."

[70] *Ibid.*, "Caesar interim Zamae auctione regia facta bonisque eorum venditis qui cives Romani contra populum Romanum arma tulerant praemiisque Zamensibus, qui de rege excludendo consilium ceperant ..."

V. Oppida Civium Romanorum

The most vexatious and acerbically debated question emerging from the Plinian lists is the status of the fifteen towns which he designates *oppida civium Romanorum*, 'towns of Roman citizens'. The status of these communities seems to have defied any generally acceptable solution. Broadly speaking, there are two schools of interpretation on this question. One holds that these towns were centres of associations of Roman citizens (*conventus*) in peregrine *civitates*.[71] The other interpretation, equally dogmatic, holds that Pliny (or his source) used the term to refer to what were in reality *municipia*.[72] Most arguments, on either side, have been confused by the acceptance of a late Augustan date for the documents. If we follow our new date of ca. 46–44 B.C., the status of these towns and their place in administrative planning becomes much clearer.

The case for regarding these towns as *municipia* is long and complex; it need not be reviewed in all its detail here.[73] Whatever arguments proponents of this view put forth, however ingenious and convincing they might seem to be, they must come to terms with several hard facts concerning the *oppida civium Romanorum* actually listed by Pliny. First, there is the historical context of municipal development in North Africa. It is extremely improbable that in 46 B.C., or even later in the reign of Augustus for that matter, there were fifteen towns in Africa, many of them insignificant and otherwise totally unknown (*e. g.*, Canopicum, Thigibba, Assuras, Abora) that had the status of *municipium*. In fact, the very opposite is *known* to be true. *In every case that can be tested in the list, no known town ever advanced beyond the status of a peregrine civitas.* Chiniava, for example, remained a *civitas* until the reign of Antoninus Pius, and probably beyond.[74] Further, the use of the grant of municipal status to a provincial community in Africa finds its first possible instance in the time of Octavianus, and this is still the much debated case of Utica.[75] *There are no further known cases of municipal grants in Africa until Tipasa and Volubilis in the time of the emperor Claudius* and, in all likelihood, these are the *first* such grants ever made in Africa. Then there is a further gap of time until a few more known grants were made by the Flavian emperors (*e. g.*,

[71] Ch. Saumagne, *Le droit Latin et les cités romaines sous l'Empire: essais critiques* (in) Publications de l'Institut de Droit Romain de l'Université de Paris, no. 22), Paris, Sirey, 1965, p. 81f.; cf. Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 234.35.

[72] Desanges, *art. cit.* (1972) is the most recent extended argument, but, as he notes (p. 353, no. 4) it goes back at least as far as Mommsen in the *Staatsrecht*.

[73] See the detailed arguments in Desanges *art. cit.* (1972) and J. Gascou, "*Municipia Civium Romanorum*", *Latomus* 30 (1971) 133–41.

[74] *AE* 1892: 12 = Cagnat, *BCTH* (1892) 197, no. 15 = *MEFR* (1893) 185, a dedication to a patron from Carthage by the *ordo Chini(a)vensium peregrinorum* in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

[75] Dio 49.16, see note 84 below.

Bulla Regia, Icosium, *perhaps* Cillium, Mascula and Sufetula).[76] Then only two such cases under Trajan (Sala, Thubursicu Numidarum).[77] It is only with Hadrian and the Antonines that the granting of municipal status becomes more commonplace. Even then, the fifteen cases mentioned by Pliny, if *municipia*, would be equal to all known grants of municipal status made by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and would more than surpass all known grants made by Septimius Severus.[78] So on historical grounds alone, it is most implausible that the *oppida civium Romanorum* are *municipia* no matter what theoretical possibilities are outlined by some scholars.

A more positive and sensible view was championed by Teutsch, namely, that the *oppida civium Romanorum* were simply towns in which a large number of Roman citizens happened to reside.[79] This interpretation, which seems to be pre-eminently logical and reasonable, nevertheless was attacked vigorously from several sides.[80] The main argument proffered by the critics against accepting the *oppida civium Romanorum* as towns in which *conventus* or associations of Roman citizens were present is that such associations did not have any formally recognized juridical status in Roman municipal government: they were only private organizations of citizens who happened to reside in peregrine cities.[81] But even this observation is no serious objection to

[76] Tipasa (*AE.* 1966: 149; cf. Pliny, *NH*, 5.4.20); Volubilis (*C.* 21837, 21841, 21843–44; *AE* 1916: 42; *AE* 1924: 66 = *ILMar* 16). For the Flavian *municipia* see no. 18 above.

[77] For Sala see S. Gsell & J. Carcopino, *MEFR* 48 (1931) 28: line 15 of the decree mentions the *municipium* in existence before 144, and since the local senate chamber was called the *Curia Ulpia*, the deduction seems reasonable. For Thubursicu Numidarum, see *ILAlg.* 1, 1240.

[78] All known grants of municipal status by Hadrian total 8–9 and all known grants by Antoninus Pius 6–7, for a total of 14–16 under the Antonines. Septimius Severus' total of about 12 is the greatest for a single imperial reign. See Gascou, *Politique municipale.*

[79] See Gascou, *art. cit.* (1971); Vittinghoff, *Bürgerrechtspolitik*, 115 and *art. cit.* (1966) 226–27 considered the identification certain, but Gascou, p. 136, no. 1 and *Politique municipale*, 25–26, rightly denies this, drawing attention to the title *municipium civium Romanorum* as used by Pliny with respect to towns in Spain (*NH*, 3.1.7; 4.22.117). On the latter see now B. Galsterer-Kröll, "Zu den spanischen Städtelisten des Plinius", *Archivo español de arquelogia* 48 (1975) 120–28. Gascou, *Politique municipale*, 18 also draws attention to the anomaly of *known municipia* (Chiniava, Uchi Maius) that are *not* included in the Plinian lists as *oppida civium Romanorum*; he thought, however, that Teutsch's identification of *oppida civium Romanorum* with centres of Roman *conventus* was controverted by the case of Thibaris, a known centre of Marian veteran settlement, which is not included in the lists as an *oppidum civium Romanorum.* That would be a cogent argument if we knew the whole history of Thibaris' municipal development; in any event, the name *might* be one of the otherwise apparently unidentifiable town names in the lists (see, *e. g.*, nos. 9 and 10, Append. A).

[80] Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 234–35; Saumagne, *Droit latin*, 81; for a study of these early centres of Roman and Italian settlement see now Lassère, *Ubique populus*, 78–103.

[81] Especially by Vittinghoff, *art. cit.* (1966) 226–27 and in *Gnomon* 40 (1968) 587–88; G. Ch. Picard, "Le *conventus civium* Romanorum de Mactar", *Africa* 1 (1966) 69–70; counter-arguments accepted by Desanges, *art. cit.* (1972) 355–58. Cf. Luzzato, *SDHI* 31 (1965) 418.

Teutsch's views. The claim of his critics reduces to the assertion that the *oppida civium Romanorum* recorded by Pliny must themselves have some formal juridical status. But there is nothing in the lists themselves that would support such an assumption, or that would support the idea that 'official' and 'juridical' must be construed on so narrow a plane. Apart from the *coloniae* and the *oppida libera*, *none* of the types of communities listed by Pliny would seem to have any formal juridical status in the sense of 'colony' or 'municipality'. For example, he lists only *one* stipendiary city, one *oppidum latinum*, and several *nationes* (ethnic groups). So the term *oppidum civium Romanorum* might be a simple descriptive term (much as it naturally appears to be) to designate towns where significant numbers of 'alien' Roman citizens happen to dwell.

Pliny's use of precisely analogous phrases elsewhere in his African geography confirm this hypothesis. In his survey of Mauretania Caesariensis he refers to three cities grouped closely together in the following words (*NH*, V, 19):

> Portus Magnus oppidum civium Romanorum, Quiza Cenitana peregrinorum oppidum, Arsennaria Latinorum (*sc.* oppidum).

Clearly the terms are only an informal way of describing these towns: Portus Magnus, 'a town inhabited by significant numbers of Roman citizens'; Quiza, 'a peregrine town'; and Arsennaria, 'a town where a significant number of Latins happen to live'. That is to say, Portus Magnus and Arsennaria are noted because there are significant enough communities of Roman citizens and Latins resident in them, whereas Quiza is merely 'foreign' and deserves no special appellation. In spite of the citizen element, however, we must note that Portus Magnus *never* became a *municipium* or colony throughout the entire period of the empire; it remained a peregrine *civitas* until the time of Septimius Severus and probably beyond.[82] Hence there is no empirical basis for claiming that the term *oppidum civium Romanorum* designates a *municipium* in Pliny, or that it was ever anything more than a purely descriptive phrase.

A secondary and much weaker counter-argument often resorted to by Teutsch's critics is the apparent fact that Pliny does not mention any of the known *conventus* of Roman citizens recorded in the *Bellum Africum*, namely those at Utica (68.4), Hadrumetum (97.2), Thapsus (97.2), and possibly at Thysdrus (36.2). The obvious explanation is that these cities already have an official status, that of *civitates liberae*, which *is* mentioned by Pliny and which in and of itself overrides the existence of groups of Roman citizens within them. Each town is mentioned *only once* in the lists and then with its highest official status. Utica, known to have a *conventus*, *is* recorded as such in the lists

[82] Its only official status ever recorded in the epigraphic data is that of *res publica (= civitas)*, *C.* 21613.

(that is, as an 'oppidum civium Romanorum', no. 15). Utica had been a *civitas libera* in 111 B.C. (cf. the *Lex Agraria*) and had kept this status at least until 54 B.C.[83] But sometime between 54 and 46 B.C. it had lost this privileged position. The reason why is obvious: the city was heavily punished for its support of Caesar's enemies during the Civil War.[84] No longer a *civitas libera*, it could not be included by Pliny under that heading in the official lists and so its *conventus*, the remaining element of importance to the compiler, *is* recorded.

In listing the cities of note in Africa, the original compiler included all the towns of obvious importance (colonies, free cities) but did not care, quite naturally, to list all the remaining cities of no special status (*e. g.*, the *civitates stipendiariae*). Out of all these cities, however, he did wish to single out for notice those stipendiary towns in which there was an important Roman citizen or Latin element in the local population. Both for purposes of controlling these local towns and knowing the location of the citizen groups whose land-tax (administrative) status would be different from that of the local populace, it was important to record their presence. We are then able to accept Teutsch's proposal that the *oppida civium Romanorum* are indeed merely stipendiary towns that happened to have 'conventus' of Roman citizens in them. However, we need only construe the term 'conventus' to mean 'groups' of such citizens in a very general sense, without attributing any special juridical sense of organization to the word. Nor need we be as dogmatic as he was in contending that *all* such concentrations of Roman citizens in these towns were due to Marian settlements, or that *all pagi* must similarly be explained.[85] Probably

[83] This observation effectively undercuts the basic argument of Desanges, *art. cit.* (1972) 358. Cf. Cic. *Pro Scaur.* 44–45: "Utica . . . amica populo Romano ac libera civitas".

[84] The status of Utica is a much discussed problem, but the pieces of evidence are few, clearly separable, and should not cause any great difficulty.

(a) The passage from Cicero *Pro Scauro* (see no. 83) clearly refers to the city as a *civitas libera* still in 54 B.C.

(b) Obviously, then, the *beneficium Legis Iuliae* of 59 B.C. (Caes. *BC*, 2.36) could *not* have been a grant of municipal status, as Teutsch and others have claimed. This is also borne out by the fact that the city is listed amongst the *oppida civium Romanorum* in the Plinian lists (see no. 15, Append. A).

(c) The town may have received the status of *municipium* in 30 B.C. *if* a passage in Dio is correctly interpreted to mean this (see no. 75 above). This would make sense of a coin legend reading *Mun(icipium) Iul(ium) Uti(cense)*, see L. Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique*, II, Copenhagen, 1861, 159–60. It would have been able to obtain the status through the influence of the large number of Roman citizens in the city and the residence of the Roman governor there until 10 B.C. (see *C.* 1180 = 14310; A. Lezine, *Utique*, Tunis, 1970, 31).

[85] Not all *conventus/oppida civium Romanorum* had to be *pagi*, though *some* might have been. The argument has been bedevilled by the equation 'all *conventus* must be *pagi*' or a corollary 'all *pagi* are Marian veteran settlements'. Neither is true. Whereas *pagi* and Marian settlers could be designated by the term *cives Romani*, not *all oppida civium Romanorum* were necessarily of one or

not. The *conventus* were simply informal groups of businessmen, farmers, settlers, cattlemen, tax-collectors and other such Romans who settled in African towns for a variety of reasons that included everything from *viritim* land settlement (Thuburnica), to petty commodity dealings (*e. g.*, in grain, Vaga), to large-scale involvement in land and tribute collection (the *equites* at Utica). Of course, there were such citizen groups in the other cities recognized by the lists, but they are not noted because it would be otiose to do so. For example, we may safely postulate that they existed in all the colonies (Carthage, Thuburbo, Uthina) but that it would be pleonastic for any administrative document to say that Roman colonies contained groups of Roman citizens. Then again, there were similar groups in the free cities (Hadrumetum, Thapsus) but the formal status of such towns as *civitates liberae* effectively placed them outside the direct concern of the Roman administrator. Once he had noted their status of 'free city' he was done with them.

VI. Political Significance of the Official Document

The main conclusions concerning the document's date might be summarized briefly:

1) A general date of composition of the lists can be set in the biennium between Caesar's arrival in Africa in the spring of 46 and his death in 44, preferably towards the beginning of this period.
2) The time of composition can be narrowed somewhat by the following observations. The list is ignorant of some of Caesar's foundations, notably his refoundation of Carthage, but it does take cognizance of *viritim* settlement of veterans from legions involved in his African campaign, both around Thuburbo Minus and Uthina. The re-establishment of Carthage can be dated to late 45 or early 44, and with it the grants of colonial status to the coastal cities of the Cap Bon Peninsula: Neapolis, Curubis, and Clupea. This narrows the date of the document to 46–45 B.C., in the immediate aftermath of his campaigns in Africa.

What then is the purpose of the document? The compiler was interested in the official status of all administrative units, whether *coloniae*, *civitates liberae* or even tribes (*nationes*) in the region between the River Amsaga in the west and the borders of Cyrenaica in the east. The precise situation in which concerns like that would be paramount is at once obvious. Following upon his victory at

the other category. Teutsch was clearly mistaken in arguing that this was the case; but his critics are also wrong when, having proved Teutsch mistaken, they leap to the conclusion that *oppida civium Romanorum* cannot be *conventus* in the broader sense of the term, *i. e.*, 'groups of Roman citizens'.

Thapsus, and the final dissolution of enemy forces at Utica and Zama, Caesar set about entirely reorganizing the Roman *provincia* in Africa. He created the new province of *Africa nova* that encompassed all the former lands of Juba I's kingdom from Calama (mod. Guelma) and Theveste (mod. Tébessa) in the west to the Arae Philaenorum on the Greater Syrtis in the east. He further envisaged a readjustment of government in the old province of *Africa*, and the inclusion of the 'baronial' principality of P. Sittius within the framework of the Roman provincial administration. The precise purpose of the administrative document drafted, probably in late 46, then, is made clearer by the summation that follows the list of *oppida libera* in chapter thirty (*NH*, V, 30):

> Ex reliquo numero non civitates tantum, sed plerique etiam nationes iure dici possunt, ut Nattabutes, Capsitani, Musulami, Sabarbares, Massyli, Nicives, Vacamures, Cinithii, Musuni, Marchubi et tota Gaetulia ad flumen Nigrim, qui Africam ab Aethiopia dirimit.

What the official who drafted the lists was attempting to do is this: to make clear that in Africa there are several different types of administrative units, that is, essentially land-tax statuses. These were:

a) *coloniae* (6)
b) *oppida libera* (30).

Although all the remaining towns are technically tributary subject cities (*civitates stipendiariae*), he wished to single out for Caesar's consideration those towns amongst them in which there were notable concentrations of Roman citizens, hence:

c) *oppida civium Romanorum* (15).

Then, having completed this initial part of the survey, he added some odd pieces of information regarding towns of which he had some personal knowledge (Castra Cornelia, Uzelis), and then proceeded to the two remaining categories that encompassed all the other communities in Africa:

d) *civitates* (i. e., *stipendiariae*)
e) *nationes.*

All the tribes actually named, however, seem to be located outside the bounds of the old province of Africa, in the region of *Africa nova* that Pliny calls *tota Gaetulia.*[86] So the document is essentially one that attempts to provide information on all *existing* units of local administration in Africa as of late 46 B.C.

[86] Which, interestingly, shows (if the expression is not one added as a gloss by Pliny himself) that there was not even at this time a clear conception of the southern frontiers of Africa. Rome claimed sovereignty over all tribes as far south as 'Gaetulia' might extend.

The document is, therefore, an administrative survey drawing up the land-tax statuses of communities in Africa in 46 B.C. as basic data to be used by Caesar in his provincial reorganization, a programme that he never had the opportunity to bring to a conclusion. It was probably drafted by someone on his staff prior to his departure from North Africa in late 46. It also seems quite probable that he was either at Zama or had access to the royal records of the kingdom of Juba I from his capital city. I postulate this for two reasons. We know that Caesar went to Zama and let the royal taxes and tributes, which had normally been auctioned at Zama for the entire African kingdom. Caesar also made Zama the new capital city of his newly formed province of *Africa nova*.[87] Secondly, the document contains very specific information about the organization of this earlier African tax system. A little further along in his text in another passage surely drawn from the same document, Pliny specifies that there were *precisely* 516 *nationes* or tribes in the region under consideration. If such a number has been preserved accurately in our MSS., it could only reflect an official source of some sort that would have taken such an accurate count of ethnic groups. Since all the tribal groups that Pliny specifically mentions (probably, again, drawn from this document) come from regions beyond the old Roman province of *Africa*, one must presume that such specific information was not filed in the offices of the proconsular governor in Utica, but rather in the archives of the African kingdom.

The entire document, then, gives us a valuable insight into one of the basic processes of Roman imperialism: the formation of a new *provincia*. As one might logically expect, one of the first steps in this process was the drafting of a document of the above type containing basic information on the existing units of local government upon which the Roman commander or administrative committee could formulate a new organizational framework. Basically, we would expect the Romans to attempt to work with what was given. But in this case, we can see the specific process at work. If the ordering of the statuses in the document is not purely fortuitous, primary importance was given in the administrator's view to those centres in the putative province where there were concentrations of Roman citizens – local settlements of known quality with and through which he could deal. In our case the colonies are listed first (even though half of them are not yet formal *coloniae*). After them, the *oppida civium Romanorum*, though possessing no formal juridical status, are listed in priority *before* the 'free cities'. Next in order of importance come the 'free cities', and after them all the ordinary tax-paying tribute cities of the province. Significantly, tribal groups (*nationes*) are separated from the tribute paying provincial communities in our list. There are several possible explanations for this. If I am correct in deducing that this piece of information derived from the tax records

[87] *Bell. Afr.* 97, see no. 69 above.

of the African kingdom, then the African kings may have placed 'tribes' in a different administrative category from 'towns', and the raw data of the Roman document merely reflect this division. In any event, the Roman administrator was faced with an entirely new category which was not to be found in the old province of *Africa* and for which Caesar may have made some provision in his organization of *Africa nova*. It would probably be wrong to suggest that the ethnic groups were 'ex-tax' simply because they are listed separately from the *civitates*. If anything, the fact that such a precise record was kept of their number in the tribute files of the African kingdom logically suggests that the African kings were already taxing them in some manner, and that the Roman administration intended to continue tradition. After establishing the new province in Africa, but before he was able to complete his colonial foundations and what seems to have been his obvious intent to incorporate the Cirtan Federation as part of the province, Caesar had at his disposal a document that enabled him to take some of the important initial steps in organizing the two Roman *provinciae* in Africa. And, most importantly, this included an already-formulated policy towards the *tribes* (*nationes*), their control and administration, that had been developed in a quite detailed way by the tax system of the African kingdoms. In this particular case at least *Quellenforschung* has not only solved a riddle of origins and reconstituted an original source, it has also revealed one of the few known administrative documents associated with the founding of a new Roman province.

The University of Lethbridge, Canada Brent D. Shaw

APPENDIX A

Reconstruction of the Lists

Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, V, 29–30.
Area covered: Ad hunc finem (*i. e.*, the Arae Philaenorum) a fluvio Ampsaga.
Colonies: in his colonias sex, praeter iam dictas Uthinam, Thuburbi.

In list	*Source*	*Ancient Name*	*Modern Name*
1) Cirta	c. 22	Cirta	Constantine
2) Sicca	c. 22	Sicca Veneria	al-Kâf
3) Carthago	c. 24	Karthago	Carthage
4) Maxula	c. 24	Maxula	Rhadès
5) Uthina		Uthina	Oudna
6) Thuburbo		Thuburbo Minus	Tébourba

Oppida civium Romanorum: oppida civium Romanorum XV, ex quibus in Mediterraneo dicenda,

In list	*Source*	*Ancient Name*	*Modern Name*
1) Assuritanum (Absuritanum)		Assuras (?)	Zanfûr
2) Abutucense		Aptuca (?)	Hr. Oudeka
		Abthugni (?)	Hr. as-Sûar
3) Aboriense		Abora	unknown (nr. Thuburbo Maius)
4) Canopicum		Canopisi (?)	unknown
5) Chiniavense		Chiniava	Hr. Guenba
6) Simittuense		Simitthus	Shamtû
7) Thunusidense		Thunusida	Sidi Meskîn
8) Thuburnicense		Thuburnica	Hr. Sidi ʿAli-bel-Kassem
9) Thinidrumense			Manzil al-Ghorshi (?)
10) Tibigense		civitas Thibicaensis Thigibba (?)	
11) Uchitana duo		Uchi Maius	Hr. Duamis
12)		Uchi Minus	
13) Vagense		Vaga	Béja

To these must be added the towns Pliny has omitted from the list since he has already mentioned them in the main text.

14) Tabarca	c. 22	Thabraca	Tabarqa
15) Utica	c. 23	Utica	Borj bû-Shatûr

A Latin Town: oppidum Latinum unum Uzalitanum

		Uzalis	al-Alia

A Stipendiary Town: oppidum stipendiarium unum Castris Corneliis

		Castra Cornelia	

Oppida Libera: oppida libera XXX, ex quibus dicenda intus:

In list	*Source*	*Ancient Name*	*Modern Name*
1) Achollitanum		Acholla	Ras Botria
2) Aggaritanum		Aggar	al-Maklûba
3) Avittense		Avitta (?)	Hr. Awitta
		Avitta Bibba (?)	Hr. bû-Ftis
4) Abziritanum		Abbir Cella (?)	Hr. en-Naam
5) Canopitanum		Canopis (?)	unknown
6) Malizitanum		unknown	unknown

(followed on p. 466)

Chart II: *The Status of African Communities between the Roman Conquest and Caesar's War*

Town	146[a]	111[b]	105[c]	46[d]	46–45[e]	45–43[f]	Later
Abziritanum oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Abora	×	×	×	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	×
Abutucense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	×
Acholla	Stipendiary to Carthage App. *Lib.* 94	oppidum liberum		oppidum liberum et immune *Bell. Afr.* 33.1; Strabo 7.3.12	oppidum liberum	×	×
Aggar	×	×	×	oppidum *Bell. Afr.* 67.1; 76.2; 79.1	oppidum liberum	×	×
Assuras	×	×	×	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	Colonia Iulia (?)	Colonia Iulia
Avittense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	Hadrianic municipium
Bulla Regia	×	×	oppidum Oros. 5.21	×	oppidum liberum	×	Flavian municipium
Canopicum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×

Capsa	×	×	oppidum magnum *Bell. Iug.* 91; immune from taxation of African king, 89.4.	oppidum destroyed by Caesar Strabo 17. 3.12	×	×	Hadrianic municipium
Carpis	×	×	×	oppidum Pliny, *NH*, 5	×	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia
Castra Cornelia	×	×	×	locus Pliny, *NH*, 5.24	oppidum stipendiarium	×	×
Chiniava	×	×	×	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	Peregrine civitas
Chullu	×	×	×	oppidum Pliny, *NH*, 21	×	×	Municipium
Clupea	Destroyed by Romans, Strabo 17.3.16	×	×	oppidum *Bell. Afr.* 2.6; 3.1; *Bell. Civ.* 2.23.2	oppidum liberum	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia
Curubis	×	×	×	Fortified by Caesar's legates; *C.* 979, 977	oppidum liberum	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia

Town	146[a]	111[b]	105[c]	46[d]	46–45[e]	45–43[f]	Later
Hadrumetum	Stipendiary to Carthage App. *Lib.* 141	oppidum liberum	×	oppidum *Bell. Afr.* 3.1; conventus fined by Caesar 97.	oppidum liberum	×	Trajanic colony
Hippo Diarrhytus	×	×	×	oppidum Pliny, *NH*, 5.23	×	×	×
Hippo Regius	×	×	×	oppidum Pliny, *NH*, 5.22	×	×	×
Karthago	×	Gracchan colony	×	×	'colony'	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia
Lepcis Magna	Tributary city of Carthage, Livy 34.62	×	civitas foederata *Bell. Iug.* 19.1.3; 77	Fined by Caesar, *Bell. Afr.* 97; Plut. *Caes.* 55	×	×	Trajanic colony
Lepti Minus	Stipendiary to Carthage App. *Lib.* 94	oppidum liberum	×	oppidum liberum et immune, *Bell. Afr.* 7.1; 62. 4–5, 63.1	oppidum liberum	×	×
Macomades	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Malizitanum oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×

	Matera	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
	Maxula	×	×	×	×	colony (?)	×	×
	Milevis	×	×	×	Sittian colony Mela 1.30	×	×	colony
	Missua	×	×	×	oppidum Pliny, *NH*, 5.24.	×	×	×
	Neapolis	Destroyed by the Romans Strabo 17.3.16	×	×	oppidum *Bell. Afr.* 2.6	oppidum liberum	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia
	Rusicade	×	×	×	oppidum Pliny, *NH*, 5.21	×	×	Augustan Colony
	Ruspina	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
	Sabratha	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
	Salaphitanum oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
	Sicca Veneria	×	×	Royal oppidum *Bell. Iug.* 56.3–4	×	'colony'	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia
	Simitthus	×	×	×	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	Augustan colony

Town	146[a]	111[b]	105[c]	46[d]	46–45[e]	45–43[f]	Later
Tabarca	×	×	×	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia
Tacape	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Tacatua	×	×	×	oppidum Pliny, *NH*, 5.22	×	×	×
Thaenae	×	×	×	oppidum Strabo 17. 3.12	oppidum liberum	×	×
Tagense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Thala	×	×	oppidum magnum et opulentum *Bell. Iug.* 75	oppidum Strabo 17. 3.12	×	×	×
Thapsus	Stipendiary to Carthage App. *Lib.* 94	oppidum liberum	×	oppidum *Bell. Afr.* 28.1; conventus fined, 97.	oppidum liberum	×	×
Theudense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Theudalis	×	oppidum liberum	×	immune oppidum	oppidum liberum	×	×

Tibigense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	×
Thinidrumense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	×
Thisicense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Thuburbo Minus	×	×	×	×	'colony'	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia
Thuburnica	×	×	×	×	oppida civium Romanorum	×	×
Thunusida	×	×	×	×	oppida civium Romanorum	×	×
Thysdrus	×	×	×	Conventus fined by Caesar *Bell. Afr.* 97	oppidum liberum	×	colony
Tigense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Tunis	Attacked by Romans Strabo 17. 3.16	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Uchi Maius	×	×	Marian settlement	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	×

Town	146[a]	111[b]	105[c]	46[d]	46–45[e]	45–43[f]	Later
Uchi Minus	×	×	Marian settlement	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	×
Uthina	×	. ×	×	×	'colony'	Colonia Iulia	Colonia Iulia
Utica	Stipendiary to Carthage App. *Lib.* 94 Deserts to Romans, Livy, *Ep.* 49; Polyb. 36.1.	oppidum liberum cf. App. *BC*, 8.135	oppidum *Bell. Iug.* 63.1; 64.5 86.4 5, 104	conventus fined by Caesar *Bell. Afr* .90.	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	Hadrianic colony
Ulusippira	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Uzalis	×	oppidum liberum	×	oppidum liberum Strabo 17. 3.12	oppidum Latinum	×	×
Vaga (Zeugitana)	×	×	Royal oppidum *Bell. Iug.* 29.4; 47.1; 65; 68–69 Italian residents	×	oppidum civium Romanorum	×	×

Vaga (Byzacena)	×	×	×	oppidum *Bell. Afr.* 74.1; Strabo 17.3.12	oppidum liberum	×	×
Visense oppidum	×	×	×	×	oppidum liberum	×	×
Zama	×	×	urbs magna *Bell. Iug.* 56.1; 57	oppidum *Bell. Afr.* 91.1; Strabo 17.3.12	oppidum liberum	×	×

[a] Status at or about the time of the formation of the province of *Africa* following the defeat of Punic Carthage.
[b] Status as reflected in the *Lex Agraria* of 111 B.C.
[c] Status at the time of the Jugurthine War, principally as reflected in Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*.
[d] Status at the time of Caesar's campaigns in Africa in 46 B.C. as noted in the *Bellum Africum* and some ancilliary texts, including Strabo.
[e] Status as noted in the Plinian 'Appendix', *NH*, 5.29–30.
[f] Status as altered by Caesar's actions upon forming the province of *Africa nova* and after his departure from Africa in the summer of 46.

7) Materense		Matera	Matûr
8) Salaphitanum		unknown	unknown
9) Thisdritanum		Thysdrus	al-Jem
10) Thisicense		Thizika	Hr. Tishga
11) Tunisense		Tunis	Tunis
12) Theudense	cf. c. 23	Theudalis	Hr. Awân
13) Tagesense		Thagaste (?)	Sûq-Ahhras
14) Tigense		Thiges (?)	Hr. Tejiûs
15) Ulusubburitanum		Ulusippira	Hr. Zembra
16) Vagense aliud		Vaga	unknown (nr. Thapsus)
17) Visense		unknown	unknown
18) Zamense		Zama	Seba Biâr

To these must be added the towns Pliny has omitted from the list since he has already mentioned them in the main text.

19) Bulla Regia	c. 22	Bulla Regia	Hammâm Darrajîi
20) Clupea	c. 24	Clupea	Kalibia
21) Curubis	c. 24	Curubis	Korba
22) Neapolis	c. 25	Neapolis	Nabûl
23) Lepti Minus	c. 25	Lepcis	Lamta
24) Hadrumetum	c. 25	Hadrumetum	Sûsa
25) Ruspina	c. 25	Ruspina	Hr. Tenir
26) Thapsus	c. 25	Thapsus	Rass Dimass
27) Thaenae	c. 25	Thaenae	Hr. Thina
28) Macomades	c. 25	Macomades	Borj Yonga
29) Tacape	c. 25	Tacape	Gabès
† "Aves" †	c. 25	*see Appendix B*	
30) Sabratha	c. 25	Sabratha	Sabrata

Civitates stipendiariae et nationes

Ex reliquo numero non civitates tantum, sed plerique etiam nationes iure dici possunt, ut Nattabutes, Capsitani, Musulami, Sabarbares, Massyli, Nicives, Vacamures, Cinithi, Musuni, Marchubi, et tota Gaetulia ad flumen Nigrim, qui Africam ab Aethiopia dirimit.

APPENDIX B

Oppidum Liberum 'Aves'

If the list of *oppida libera* in chapter thirty is reconstructed from the supplementary data available in the main text (see Append. A) and all the 'free cities' in the text are counted, the total comes to *thirty-one* rather than the thirty announced by Pliny at the head of the chapter. Teutsch sought to remedy this problem by deleting Sabratha (the last city mentioned in the main text) from the list, claiming that it was located outside the region of Byzacium which that survey purports to cover.[1] But the hypothesis is totally unacceptable. If we accepted this basis for rejecting cities on the list we would also have to delete Macomades, Tacape, and Aves from the lists since these towns were also outside the southern boundary of *Africa vetus* (and, *a fortiori*, Byzacium) which stopped at Thaenae.[2] One would then be left with only twenty-seven of Pliny's total of thirty. In addition, the heading of the official list clearly does include the Syrtic coastline: it is a survey 'ad hunc finem' (*i. e.*, the *Arae Philaenorum*) 'a fluvio Ampsaga', that is, all North Africa from the border of Mauretania in the west to that of Cyrenaica in the east.[3] Teutsch's second objection, that Sabratha is mentioned again in a later section of the geography that surveys the Syrtic coast (c. 27) under its Greek name 'Habrotonum' is not reason arbitrarily to delete it here.[4] It is quite clear that Pliny has used a Latin source for c. 25, but has resorted to a different Greek source for c. 27. In his usual relaxed approach to his work, Pliny has not bothered to edit the two sections to remove discrepancies and inconsistencies. Sabratha must therefore stand as one of the *oppida libera*. How then are we to reconcile the apparent total of thirtyone with the announced total of thirty?

Among the cities listed in the 'appendix' itself (cf. nos. 1–18), the identification or location of three towns provides special difficulties: Malizitanum (no. 6), Salaphitanum (no. 8) and Vigense (no. 17). There are no known identifications for these towns, and their municipal history remains a mystery. There are other problems: the MSS. spelling of Melizitanum places the town out of alphabetical order, an easy copying error that is neatly rectified by changing the 'e' to an 'a' (as I have done). But there are no MSS. difficulties with Salaphitanum or its order in the list. Vigense, however, is another troublesome case. But, in spite of the MSS. difficulties, it is clear that the town's name must have begun with a 'v' if the alphabetical order of the list is to be preserved. We are therefore left with the choice between the MSS.

1 Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 90, esp. no. 243.

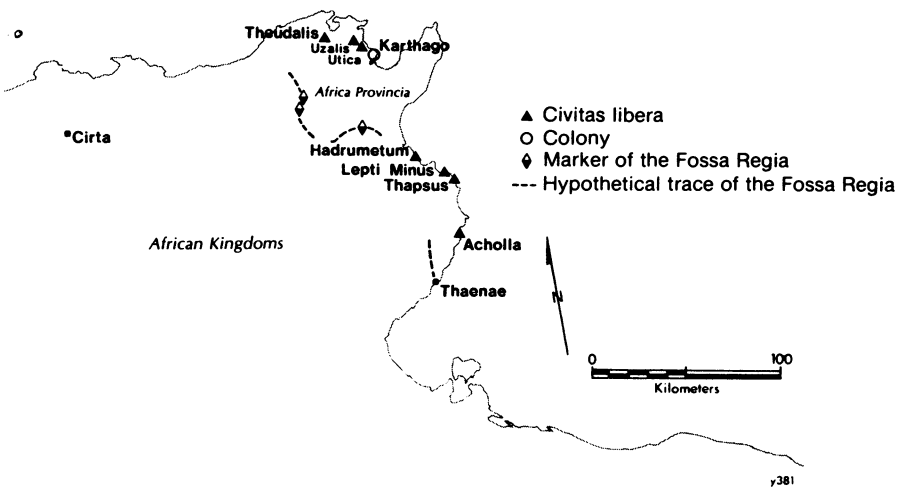
2 Macomades, Tacape, Aves, south of Thaenae, which is the southern terminus of *Africa vetus*.

3 The 'Official Survey', our 'appendix' covered the whole region of greater proconsular Africa.

4 Teutsch, *Städtewesen*, 90; cf. *IRT*, p. 21 on the Greek name for Sabratha.

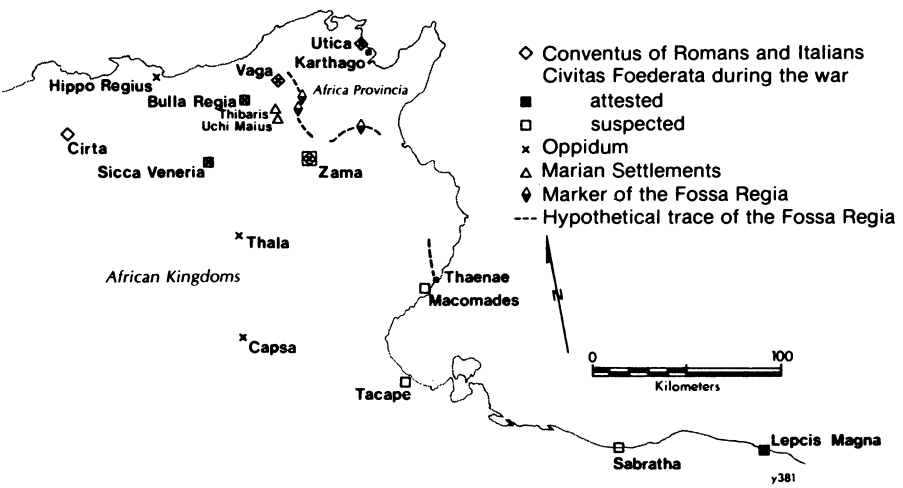
Map 1

City Status at the Time of the Lex Agraria (111 B.C.)



Map 2

City Status at the Time of the Bellum Iugurthinum and Aftermath (ca. 110 - 100 B.C.)

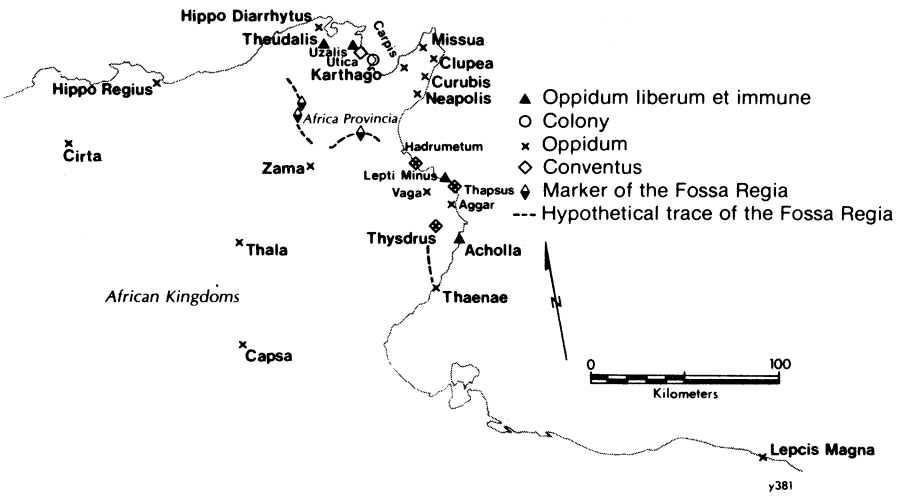


alternatives 'Vigense' and 'Visense'.[5] But nothing in the manuscripts themselves would otherwise cast any doubt on the actual existence of the above named towns; alphabetical order has been kept, and each city's name is intact, with only slight variations in spelling.

5 *vise* – H (D^2); *vige* – E^3, G *cum* B^1; Cuntz's proposal that the difficulties arose from a conflation of 'Vagense aliud, *S*igense' is not probable since *S*igense would not follow *V*agense in alphabetical order. A conflation of 'Vagense aliud, Vigense' would be possible.

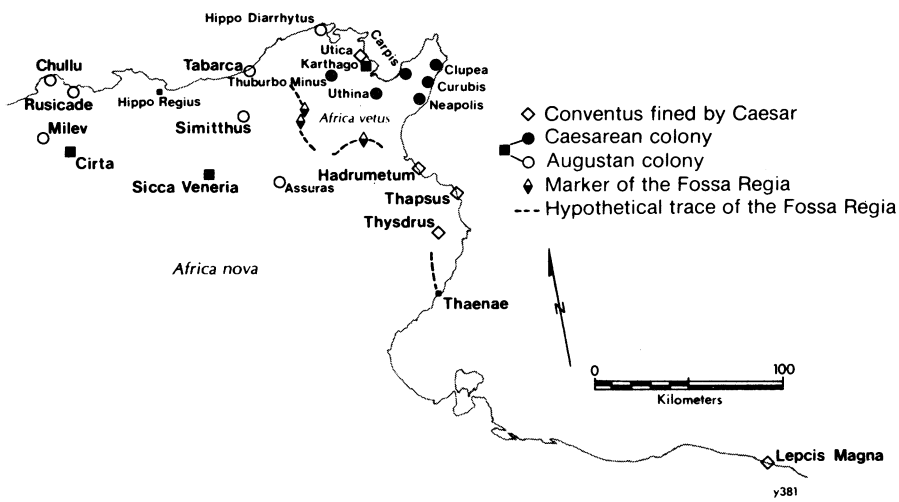
Map 3

City Status at the Time of the Bellum Africum (46 B.C.)



Map 4

City Status under Caesar and Augustus (45/44 B.C. - A.D. 14)

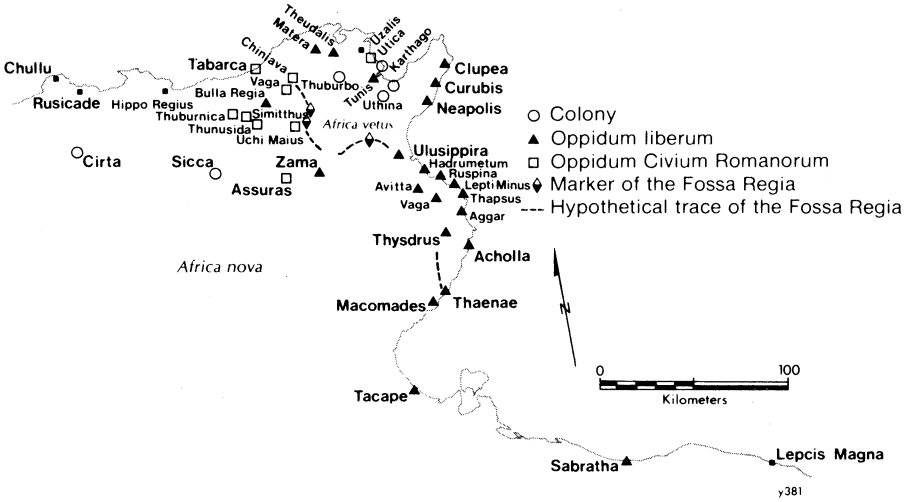


Of the *oppida libera* added to our list from passages in the main text, there is no difficulty with the first four (nos. 19–22). But this is not true of the last eight towns that complete the list (nos. 22–30), all taken from chapter twenty-eight of the main text, a mini-survey of Byzacium. That passage reads in full:

> Hic oppida libera Leptis, Hadrumetum, Ruspina, Thapsus. Inde Thenae, Aves, Macomades, Tacape, Sabrata contingens Syrtim minorem.

Map 5

City Status in the Elder Pliny's Geography (NH, V, 29 - 30, ca. 46/45 B.C.)



We are singularly fortunate in that this list, derived from the official list in the appendix, is preserved intact, *not* in the alphabetical order of the original document, but in a north-south geographical order. All the cities on this list can be identified easily, all that is except the curious 'Aves'. What is more significant is that 'Aves' presents the only MSS. difficulties in the whole passage, trouble that is especially apparent at the juncture THAENAE-AVES. There are at least six different MSS. readings for the ending of THAENAE.[6] 'AVES' is recorded in most MSS., but was deliberately omitted by at least one early editor.[7] Martianus Capella, an early fifth century compilor from Carthage quoted Pliny's geography extensively in his compendium of knowledge. In fact, he happens to quote this particular passage from Pliny *verbatim* but, once again, there is MSS. trouble. Instead of 'AVES', the MSS. have the readings 'ABES' and 'ABIES'.[8] Clearly, some difficulties had already arisen by the time Capella was copying Pliny.

Our suspicions about the existence of 'AVES' are deepened by the complete silence of any other evidence, literary, ephigraphic, or numismatic, about the

6 The readings in the *app. crit.* of the Teubner text (p. 370) are: *Thaenae* (a^3 B e M Cap); *Thene* (f); *Thenco* (R^1); *Then* (R^2); *Theana* (F); *Thena* (rv, J); cf. *C.* 22727; *AE* 1949: 38.

7 Omitted in the *editio* of Alexander Benedictus, published in Venice in 1507.

8 For Capella's background and date see W. H. Stahl & R. Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, 1, New York, Columbia University Press, 1971, 11–16 (on copying of the Elder Pliny, see 129–30, 138–39). For the readings see ss. 670 of the Teubner edition (ed. A. Dick, addit. J. Préaux, Leipzig, 1925).

presence of such a town. This silence is much more damning in this case than is the silence concerning the *oppida libera* mentioned above since there do not exist any good literary sources on the regions of the interior. This is not true for the region of the Kerkennah-Gulf of Gabès coastline which is well covered by most of the itineraries. But not one of these mentions an 'AVES'. All go directly from Thaenae to Macomades, and do not list any intervening towns.[9] Thus, there is no external corroboration for the existence of the town.

We might note too that many sources cite THAENAE in the plural form THENAS or THAENAS.[10] If this happened in the original lists, it is easy to understand how MSS. corruption led to the separate existence of a new town named 'AVES', since three of the elements of 'AVES', the 'a', 'e', and 's', are also present in the ending of THAENAS. When we note that the *only* MSS. difficulties in this passage occur precisely at the end of the word THAENAE we can conjecture that the individual letters AVES are, at best, 'palaeographically weak'. 'AVES', indeed, would seem to be an accident of writing, and probably should be the city deleted from the list of *oppida libera* to leave us with the correct total of thirty.

9 There is no mention of any 'Aves' in the Peutinger Table or in the *Itinerarium Antoninianum*; nor in Ptolemy, *Geographica*, 4.3.11: Θέαιναι, Μακομάδα, Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, Ταχάπη. Anonymous of Ravenna, 3.5: 'Tacapas, ad Oleastrum, Macumades, Thenas, Patabura (= Taparura)' in north-south order; and the *Liber Guidonis*, ss. 89: 'Taparura, Themenas (= Thaenas), Macomades Minores, ad Oleastrum', in a south-north direction.

10 On the reasons for errors creeping into the Latin transliterations of these place names see L. Poinssot, "Macomades-Iunci", *MSAF* 81 (1944) 133–69, at 153, no. 3; the above argument is postulated on the basis of a unitary source for Pliny's 'appendix', an hypothesis not accepted by A. Luisi, "A proposito della regione Zeugitana in Plinio, *Nat. Hist.* V, 22–30. Considerazioni sulle fonti", *AFMB* 14 (1974–76) 83–102, but on the basis of traditional arguments I have rejected in this article.